

issue #17

Rat

DEC 17-JAN 6

25¢ IN NYC

35¢ OUTSIDE NYC



**NEW MORNING —
CHANGING WEATHER**



2.

LETTERS

Dear Sisters,

We were moved and spirited by your article, 'Whither Weatherman.' It was the deepest piece of dialectical thought to come out in the people's press in a long time, and one of the most richly constructive - both in the general quality of its supportive-critical stance and in the specifics of its concrete suggestions on how to move out of the struggle-perspective it lays out.

Honest, rational criticism within our movement is one of the most powerful weapons we have in a period when the enemy lies so brazenly in his ads, in his addresses to the nation, in his campaigns, and in his bedroom.

The reaction of most brothers and many sisters has been to respond to the barrage of pig salesmen with our counter-pitch, pushing our war vs. THEIR war, our justice vs. theirs. This isn't all wrong insofar as our war IS better than theirs, our justice realer, etc. . . . We are better and realer though BECAUSE our commitment is to continuous growth and our vision is of the total GLOBAL release of human potential. Selling ourselves, our actions, our movement accomplishes exactly what advertising in general achieves - not the triumph of the better over the lesser product, but simply the addiction to consumption. If we are a movement to be consumed by folks instead of participated in and built by them we won't win the war or the revolution to follow.

The prescription that the way to proceed and build is at many different levels moving towards a common aim of popular organizing and uprising, nourishing each other's work by example and effect rather than debate is realistic, given the different rates at which people's situations and consciousness moves them to change.

Your understanding of the Tupamaro's politics was the first instance we've seen where someone actually got through all the 'right-ons' and understood the difference between their strategic basis for constructing action and Weatherman's.

The 'fifth column' politics of destroying Amerikkka with or without a domestic revolution for the sake of our third world sisters and brothers is a betrayal of all of us here who are oppressed and have lives to win. It is also futile, however tempting, because we are further from the possibility of deeply harming Amerikkkan power with a purely para-military apparatus than we are from building a movement of for and by the people to take it and remake it. Both at times seem very far away, but the vision of your article made tomorrow just a little closer for us out here in mid-country where the rhetoric of the movement and its rationales for sabotage are still a foreign language.

Deep feelings of Love,
The St. Louis Collective



Dear Brothers and Sisters:

We in St. Louis would like you to know about the vicious repression the Feds are laying on our movement here. We know it's coming down everywhere, but what's happening here may have heavy impact on the entire movement, and it just hasn't been publicized (part of the plot).

Last spring, the anti-war forces at Washington University succeeded in destroying two ROTC buildings, the second coming on May 5, after Cambodia and Kent State. Three thousand of us acted in unison to off the most repressive structure on campus; It didn't take long for both the St. Louis County and the Federal pigs to come down hard. Seven brothers were indicted by the Feds over the summer. Three were charged under the 1968 Civil Rights Act, which is what they tried to get the Chicago Eight and some of the Weatherpeople on. It's a possible five-year rap. The other four were charged with, among other things, violating the old WW II anti-sabotage act, which has been invoked only twice before. They face anywhere between 30 and 70 years in prison.

The first of the seven trials is over. Howard Mechanic was convicted of violating the Civil Rights Act and sentenced to five years. There was no evidence, but that didn't matter. He was found guilty because of his movement politics and his life-style. Mechanic was thus the first person to be convicted by this fascist law, which now means an open road ahead for Attorney General Mitchell, J. Edgar Hoover, and the other Justice Dept. pigs. From now on, those everywhere in the country who oppose the war may be suppressed to protect the 'civil rights' of imperialist war-makers. The Feds have chosen St. Louis as a test case, knowing that it provides an ideal climate for repression, and so far they've succeeded.

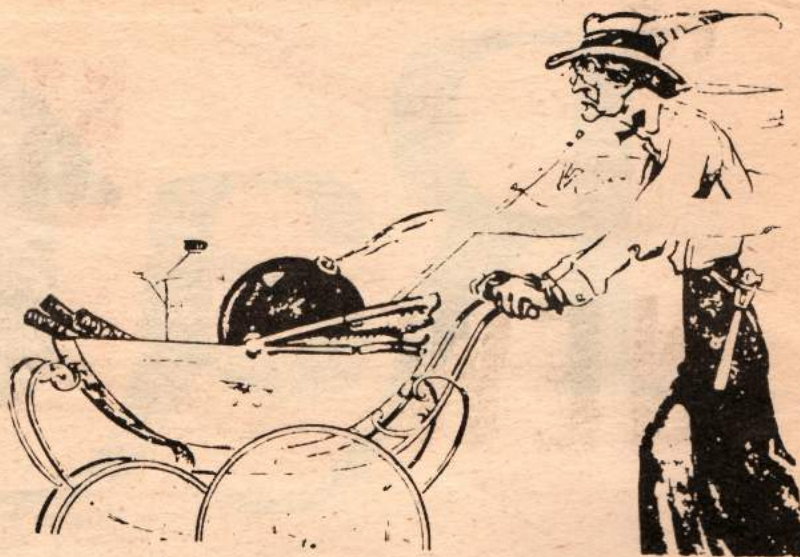
We have six more trials coming up between now and February, not to mention the many local cases, and the outlook is depressing and frightening. We are isolated in a hostile environment, and we're trying desperately to build up political and financial support for our brothers who are being arbitrarily ripped off. Our community is small and we face great odds.

The juries, if we go by the Mechanic case, are made up of staid, conservative, over-40 type middle-Americans who are horrified more by the destruction of a building than the devastation of the Vietnamese people. The type who respond with approval to every violent assault on us by the Nixons and Agnews. And the three Federal judges in St. Louis who are trying these cases have long been known as 'hanging judges'. They're just as brutal as Judge Hoffman, but unfortunately they're not as stupid.

To make things worse, there has been a complete suspension of civil liberties at Washington University since March 24, when a Temporary Restraining Order was issued - preventing any activity that might be construed as interfering with the 'normal' functioning of the University. The Restraining Order has become a permanent injunction. Many brothers and sisters have been busted for contempt of court under it.

We wanted to get this info out to you because it is of urgent importance for the whole movement. What is happening in St. Louis may signal a new wave of repression throughout the country. The struggle has just begun!

Peace after the revolution!
New Morning Messengers
St. Louis, Mo.



Dear Rat

Recently I was busted. I'm not going to say how, when, why or where because anything I say may incriminate me, (not that it matters cause the pigs will lie thru their teeth anyway). After my trial I'll explain in detail what happened. It's really incredible.

Anyway I learned a few things that I'd like to relate to my sisters as soon as possible.

It's extremely middle-class and naive to think that you can demand to be a witness to an injustice being perpetrated against some black brothers by the pigs. The most you can do is copy down their badge numbers, without them seeing you. But you know nothing will happen. They don't like witnesses.

If you insist on being a "good citizen", like they taught you in 9th grade social studies your bound to get arrested so, don't carry anything i.e. address book, pad with notes etc. because they'll try and link you up with anything they can. Remember its really important to them to say they caught another "mad Bomber". DO CARRY some sort of I.D.. Without I.D. they can keep your till someone testifies in court as to who you are.

If you get arrested don't say ANYTHING except your name, address, and where you are employed. I made the mistake of coming on really stupid and apolitical, which only led them to believe that I may be terrified into giving them all sorts of information. They may have interrogated me anyway, but if they had thought from the start that I knew my rights and wasn't about to say a word they wouldn't have hassled me so much.

Remember they're gonna try every scare tactic in the book to make you talk. No matter how insignificant the information they want it, names, organizations, anything. They'll lie to you, make it sound like you're in real serious trouble, and trump up the charges. One hour they'll come on like your father and the next hour they'll treat you like you ought to be executed. Even if some of the pigs seem kinda nice remember if told to they'll get up on the stand and make-up a complete lie about what happened.

It's really scary but it's nothing you can't handle. Remember justice is reserved for the ruling class. So be cool, we are living in a police state.

ALL POWER TO THE IMPRISONED
BROTHERS AND SISTERS
P.S. Love from an Ex-Brownie

P.P.S. A friend just told me that if you to be a witness for someone get their names and go to their arraignment at 100 Center St. the next day.

The six people framed in the uptown bust on Nov 1st (see last Rat) still need help organising their defense. The lawyers expect a date for a possible arraignment and inditement to be set within the next three weeks. Call 228-4460 for more information.

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P-3

This communique
was received by the LIBERATED GUARDIAN
12/11/70

MORNING

NEW

This is a communication for our friends. We've sent it to those in the underground media we feel closest to. So we need your help in circulating it by sending it to all the underground and college newspapers in your area. If you want to, hold a press conference about this.

There have been several statements that have appeared recently, claiming to be from the Weather underground. The article that appeared in Chicago claiming to have been from someone involved in the second bombing of the Haymarket pig statue is not accurate or from anyone we can identify. Likewise, the statement that appeared in Berkeley last Thursday, signed Bernadine, did not come from us.

At one time we thought that it didn't matter if people sent out false communiques, as that would confuse the enemy. But now it seems that this is not a good tactic. It undercuts our ability to be clear about who we are and what we are doing; it makes it more difficult to struggle with people with whom we may have differences. We may be able to help others avoid mistakes we have made. So we will probably indicate if a statement is false and we'll try to be clear about authenticating ours.

December 6 1970

This communication does not accompany a bombing or a specific action. We want to express ourselves to the mass movement not as military leaders, but as tribes at council. It has been nine months since the townhouse explosion. In that time, the future of our revolution has been changed decisively. A growing illegal organization of young women and men can live and fight and love inside Babylon. The FBI can't catch us; we've pierced their bullet-proof shield. But the townhouse forever destroyed our belief that armed struggle is the only real revolutionary struggle.



It is time for the movement to go out into the air, to organize, to risk calling rallies and demonstrations, to convince that mass actions against the war and in support of rebellions do make a difference. Only acting openly, denouncing Nixon, Agnew and Mitchell, and sharing our numbers and wisdom together with young sisters and brothers will blow away the fear of the students at Kent State, the smack of the Lower East Side and the national silence after the bombings of North Vietnam.

The deaths of three friends ended our military conception of what we are doing. It took us weeks of careful talking to rediscover our roots, to remember that we had been turned-on to the possibilities of revolution by denying the schools, the jobs, the death relationships we were "educated" for. We went back to how we had begun living with groups of friends and found that this revolution could leave intact the enslavement of women if women did not fight to end and change it, together. And marijuana and LSD and little money and awakening to the black revolution, the people of the world. Unprogramming ourselves; relearning American history. The first demonstration we joined; the first time we tried to convince our friends. In the wake of the townhouse we found that we didn't know much about each others' pasts — our talents, our interests, our differences.

We had all come together around the militancy of young white people determined to reject racism and U.S. exploitation of the third world. Because we agreed that an underground must be built, we were able to disappear an entire organization within hours of the explosion. But it was clear that more had been wrong with our direction than technical inexperience (always install a safety switch so you can turn it off and on and a light to indicate if a short circuit exists).

Diana, Teddy and Terry had been in SDS for years. Diana and Teddy had been teachers and both spent weeks with the Vietnamese in Cuba. Terry had been a community organizer in Cleveland and at Kent; Diana had worked in Guatemala. They fought in the Days of Rage in Chicago. Everyone was angered by the murder of Fred Hampton. Because their collective began to define armed struggle as the only legitimate form of revolutionary action, they did not believe that there was any revolutionary motion among white youth. It seemed like black and third world people were going up against American imperialism alone.



Two weeks before the townhouse explosion, four members of this group had firebombed Judge Murtagh's house in New York as an action of support for the Panther 21, whose trial was just beginning. To many people this was a very good action. Within the group, however, the feeling developed that because this action had not done anything to hurt the pigs materially it wasn't very important. So within two weeks time, this group had moved from firebombing to anti-personnel bombs. Many people in the collective did not want to be involved in the large scale, almost random bombing offensive that was planned. But they struggled day and night and eventually, everyone agreed to do their part.

At the end, they believed and acted as if only those who die are proven revolutionaries. Many people had been argued into doing something they did not believe in, many had not slept for days. Personal relationships were full of guilt and fear. The group had spent so much time willing themselves to act that they had not dealt with the basic technological considerations of safety. They had not considered the future: either what to do with the bombs if it had not been possible to reach their targets, or what to do in the following days.

This tendency to consider only bombings or picking up the gun as revolutionary, with the glorification of the heavier the better, we've called the military error. After the explosion, we called off all armed actions until such time as we felt the causes had been understood and acted upon. We found that the alternative direction already existed among us and had been developed within other collectives. We became aware that a group of outlaws who are isolated from the youth communities do not have a sense of what is going on, cannot develop strategies that grow to include large numbers of people, have become "us" and "them".

It was a question of revolutionary culture. Either you saw the youth culture that has been developing as bourgeois or decadent and therefore to be treated as the enemy of the revolution, or you saw it as the forces which produced us, a culture that we were a part of, a young and unformed society (nation).

In the past months we have had our minds blown by the possibilities that exist for all of us to develop the movement so that as revolutionaries we change and shape the cultural revolution. We are in a position to change it for the better. Men who are chauvinists can change and become revolutionaries who no longer embrace any part of the culture that stands in the way of the freedom of women. Hippies

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and students who fear black power should check out Rap Brown's Die Nigger Die and George Jackson's writings. We can continue to liberate and subvert attempts to rip off the culture. People become revolutionaries in the schools, in the army, in prisons, in communes and on the streets. Not in an underground cell.

Because we are fugitives, we could not go near the Movement. That proved to be a blessing because we've been everywhere else. We meet as many people as we can with our new identities; we've watched the TV news of our bombings with neighbors and friends who don't know that we're Weatherpeople. We are often afraid but we take our fear for granted now, not trying to act tough. What we once thought would have to be some zombie-type discipline has turned out to be a yoga of alertness, a heightened awareness of activities and vibrations around us — almost a new set of eyes and ears.

Even though we have not communicated about ourselves specifically before this, our actions have said much about where our heads are at. We have obviously not gone in for large scale material damage. Most of our actions have hurt the enemy on about the same military scale as a bee sting. But the political effect against the enemy has been devastating. The world knows that even the white youth of Babylon will resort to force to bring down imperialism.

The attacks on the Marin County Court House and the Long Island City Jail were because we believe that the resistance and political leadership that is growing within the prisons demands immediate and mass support from young people. For all the George Jacksons, Afeni Shakurs and potential revolutionaries in these jails, the movement is the lifeline. They rebelled expecting massive support from outside.

Demonstrations in support of prison revolts are a major responsibility of the movement, but someone must call for them, put out the leaflets, convince people that it is a priority. We are so used to feeling powerless that we believe pig propaganda about the death of the movement, or some bad politics about rallies being obsolete and bullshit. A year ago, when Bobby Seale was ripped-off in Chicago and the movement didn't respond, it made it easier for the pigs to murder Fred Hampton. Now two Puerto Ricans have been killed by the pigs in the New York jails, in retaliation for the prisoner rebellion. What we do or don't do makes a difference.

It will require courage and close families of people to do this organizing. Twos and threes is not a good form for anything — it won't put out a newspaper, organize a conference on the war, or do an armed action without getting caught. Our power is that together we are mobile, decentralized, flexible and we come into every home where there are children who catch the music of freedom and life.

The women and men in jails are POWs held by the United States. When an American pilot is shot down while bombing North Vietnamese villages, he is often surrounded by thousands of people who have just seen their family and homes destroyed by the bombs he was delivering. Yet the man is not attacked and killed by the Vietnamese but is cared for as a prisoner. Nixon is now waging a last ditch moral crusade around the treatment of these American war criminals to justify all his impending atrocities.

The demonstrations and strikes following the rape of Indochina and the murders at Jackson and Kent last May showed real power and made a strong difference. New people were reached and involved and the government was put on the defensive. This month the bombings could have touched off actions expressing our fury at double-talking Laird and his crew — war research and school administrators and travelling politicians are within reach of our leaflets, our rallies, our rocks. Women's liberation groups can find in Nguyen Thi Binh a sister for whom there is love and support here. Her proposals for peace must be explained and Bloody Dick's plans to use more bombers to replace the GIs who are refusing to fight exposed as the escalation and genocide it is. Vietnamization Indianization limited duration protective reaction suppressive fire horseshit. It seems that we sometimes forget

CHANGING



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that in Vietnam strong liberated women and men live and fight. Not as abstract guerrilla fighters, slugging it out with U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia, but as people with values and loves and parents and children and hopes for the future.

People like Thai, a fighter in the Peoples Liberation Armed Forces who was in Hue during Tet and at Hamburger Hill a year later, or Than Tra, an organizer in the mass women's organization and the students' movement in the cities, who had not seen her lover in nine years. They travelled for a month to come to Cuba to meet with us, to sing and dance and explain how it is in Vietnam. There is nothing brutal or macho about guns and bombs in their hands. We can't help thinking that if more people knew about them, the anti-war movement would never have allowed Nixon and Agnew to travel to so many cities during the past election with only the freaks in Kansas State and the people of San Jose to make our anger at his racism known to the world.

The hearts of our people are in a good place. Over the past months, freaks and hippies and a lot of people in the movement have begun to dig in for a long winter. Kent and Augusta and Jackson brought to all of us a coming of age, a seriousness about how hard it will be to fight in Amerika and how long it will take us to win. We are all beginning to figure out what the Cubans meant when they told us about the need for new men and new women.

People have been experimenting with everything about their lives, fierce against the ways of the white man. They have learned how to survive together in the poisoned cities and how to live on the road and the land. They've moved to the country and found new ways to bring up free wild children. People have purified themselves with organic food, fought for sexual liberation, grown long hair. People have reached out to each other and learned that grass and organic consciousness-expanding drugs are weapons of the revolution. Not mandatory for everyone, not a gut-check, but a tool — a Yaqui way of knowledge. But while we sing of drugs the enemy knows how great a



threat our youth culture is to their rule, and they employ their allies — the killer-drugs (smack and speed) — to pacify and destroy young people. No revolution can succeed without the youth, and we face that possibility if we don't meet this threat.

People are forming new families. Collectives have sprung up from Seattle to Atlanta, Buffalo to Vermont, and they are units of people to trust each other both to live together and to organize and fight together. The revolution involves our whole lives; we aren't part-time soldiers or secret revolutionaries. It is our closeness and the integration of our personal lives with our revolutionary work that will make it hard for undercover pigs to infiltrate our collectives. It's one thing for pigs to go to a few meetings, even meetings of a secret cell. It's much harder for them to live in a family for long without being detected.

One of the most important things that has changed since people began working in collectives is the idea of what leadership is. People — and especially groups of sisters — don't want to follow academic ideologues or authoritarians. From Fidel's speeches and Ho's poems we've understood how leaders grow out of being deeply in touch with movements. From Crazy Horse and other great Indian chiefs we've learned that people who respect their tribe and its needs are followed freely and with love. The Lakotas laughed at the whites' appointing one man to be chief of all the Lakota tribes, as if people wouldn't still go with whichever leader they thought was doing the right thing!

Many of these changes have been pushed forward by women both in collectives with men and in all women's collectives. The enormous energy of sisters working together has not only transformed the movement internally, but when it moves out it is a movement that confuses and terrifies Amerika. When asked about the sincerity of Mme. Binh's proposals Ky says, "Never trust a woman in politics." The pigs refuse to believe that women can write a statement or build a sophisticated explosive device or fight in the streets. But while we have seen the potential strength of thousands of women marching, it is now up to revolutionary women to take the lead to call militant demonstrations, to organize young women, to carry the Viet Cong flag, to make it hard for Nixon and Ky to travel around the country ranting about POWs the same day that hundreds of women are being tortured in the prisons of south Vietnam.

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It's up to us to tell women in Amerika about Mme. Binh in Paris; about Pham Thi Quyen, fighter in the Saigon underground and wife of Nguyen Van Troi; about Mme. Nguyen Thi Dinh, leader of the first South Vietnamese Peoples Liberation Armed Forces unit uprising in Ben Tre in 1961; about Celia Sanchez and Heidi Santamaria who fought a Moncada and in the Havan underground; about Bernadette Devlin and Leila Khaled and Lolita Lebrun; and about Joan Bird and Afeni Shakur, and Mary Moylan here.



We can't wait to organize people until we get ourselves together any more than we can act without being together. They must go on at the same time. None of these changes that people are going through are rules and principles. We are in many different regions of the country and are building different kinds of leaders and organizations. It's not coming together into one organization, or paper structure of factions or coalitions. It's a New Nation that will grow out of the struggles of the next year.

Weather Underground

Bernadine Dohrn
(thumbprint)

WEATHER....



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This is a letter from the underground. Many comrades do not understand how we live and fit into the revolution. They believe that people have to go underground if they intend to do certain kinds of revolutionary work. In fact, people should go underground only if they become too hot. Armed struggle is not limited only to fugitives. We live very much like you, except we are more careful about being busted. A pig invented the story that we tell strangers who we are and ask for asylum. We are the freaks who just rented the apartment next to yours or who asked you for a place to crash last week. We have changed our appearance, worked up a set of ID, and figured out ways to earn bread. We have many new friends. They think of us as very happy freaks who relate to the revolution. Which is true. There are many people we miss. We have to be terribly selective about contacting old friends and telling new friends our identity.

In a few months, we hope to get into armed struggle. That depends on our relationships with those closest to us. Our ability to do things right is totally a product of our politics and the relationships we build. More than anything else, our struggle to transform ourselves into the revolutionaries we want to be has centered on combating our male chauvinism — in both the men and women among us.

Out of the kind of life we have, we want to do acts of armed struggle that will show that the revolution is about liberation (like springing Timothy Leary from jail) and that will contribute to the ongoing work of the communities we move among (the way the Fall Offensive related to struggles at places like Santa Barbara and Seattle and Queens). Sometimes talking about the relation of the underground to the overground obscures that relationship by making fugitives seem very strange and distant. For example, the fantasy that the underground has to rely on the overground for information on what is happening in Amerika. For example, the fantasy that being underground means separation from the people. When we were "organizers," we rapped but seldom listened and we too often judged our relation to the people by the number of leaflets we had passed out. Now, for the first time, we truly are part of our community.

Our freak mobile life style has enabled us to see the country. We have found no place, no city or town where kids aren't beginning, in however small a way, to define their lives in terms of the revolution. Usually it starts with music and dope, but most kids don't see this as an end in itself. Everywhere, communities are developing, with new institutions for food, medicine, housing, transportation, and people are seeing each other as their family and the revolution as their life. This is a mass movement. A large number of kids come from middle class families, but the new communities also cut class lines. The working class is not monolithic. About half of it is youth and, as the alternative becomes more real, they are relating more to other youth than to their jobs. Repression is beginning to come down on the white movement. Far from crushing the movement, it is bringing us closer together. Communities are arming themselves for self-defense and off of the repression people understand more clearly our

common cause with the black and brown communities, the Vietnamese and people fighting the Amerikan pig the world over. Freak life style arose from the privilege of white middle class Amerika. But its most important qualities, transformation of people and building communities, are the strengths we need to resist repression.

The union of politics and culture is a move to the left. We never gave up on internationalism when we became freaks. On the other hand, we feel that many comrades have not reacted in a revolutionary manner to recent events. We are particularly upset by the attitude shown by our sisters who wrote WHITHER WEATHERMAN? in the last issue of RAT. They say that white kids can't relate to blowing up the offices of the international oil cartel. They ignore what the appearance of Bernadine and Angela and Kathy and Susan on the FBI Most Wanted list means for women's liberation. They do not acknowledge the enormous ideological, human growth achieved in the last 6 months by the sisters and brothers of Weatherman and talk about that organization as though this were October 1969.

Where does this come from? We read these criticisms of armed struggle which say that we have to go very slowly and not make a revolution yet because we might offend the white working class of Amerika. We have been operating from the analysis that the central political fact for us is that we live in the belly of the vastest, most vicious imperialist monster the world has seen. Amerika is the center of a dying empire — dying not of its own weight, but because Third World revolutionaries are heroically killing it. When we consider the struggles being waged against U.S. imperialism (in Jordan, the ghettos of our cities, and all of Indochina — to name a few), we find that it is a very white perspective that cautions us to abandon armed revolution and wait for conditions here to match some preconceived model. We know our allies in this country because we see them in motion. We see longshoremen beating our people, and we know that these longshoremen are not our allies. We see hardhats excluding blacks from their unions, and we draw the same conclusion. We relate to those workers who relate to bringing down the monster. We do not try to ingratiate ourselves with white workers by stressing only the oppression that they experience. Revolutionaries do not serve the people by helping them forget what their country does to the rest of the world.



All of us in all the different forms of struggle have the responsibility to integrate our work. But in all these several forms, we must distinguish the revolutionary from the reactionary. The actions of the Weatherman underground have been revolutionary; whereas calling in bomb threats to a college dormitory is reactionary and very likely the work of outright pigs. In the same manner, an article about Angela Davis can be revolutionary or reactionary, depending on whether it merely portrays her as a victim of a frame-up or whether it also portrays her as a strong fighting sister and goes on to say that whoever else supplied Jonathon Jackson those guns did an incredibly right-on thing.

People who, by their example, inspire us to do our work better are leaders. In this sense Mao, Fidel, Leila, Eldridge, Bernadine and the unknown person who burned down the Bank of Amerika are our leaders. What they have done and what they continue to do puts them in that position. They make mistakes. So do we. But it is wrong to make sharp distinctions between their error and ours. Some feel the bombings were not explained clearly enough. Why didn't they, in the overground, see this explaining as their responsibility too? Weatherpeople must be struggled with when they fuck up. But the responsibility for the revolution does not rest only with them, but with all of us.

A revolution that still leaves women oppressed is far from complete, but it is a sham to think that women can achieve full liberation without the overthrow of the state. Is the fighting revolutionary, engaged in armed struggle, really a male macho image? This is looking at the question backwards. The real issue is how our liberation is to be won. Can the revolution be achieved without armed struggle? Whoever says so is likely to find guerrilla warfare macho-chauvinist by definition. If, however, this is the time for armed struggle in Amerika, we must struggle to do it right, in a non-macho way.

Revolutions are about political power, the power to determine our own destiny. Let's not confuse this with macho, which is a destiny created for us by the Man. Macho doesn't win — and tries to win the wrong things anyway. The change in Weatherman from the townhouse on 11th St. to the bomb at pig headquarters on Centre St. to the freeing of Timothy Leary to the Fall Offensive is the victory of revolutionary strength over macho. We know this from their (our) successes. There is nothing more intrinsically masculine about a bomb than there is intrinsically feminine about love.

Friends in the underground





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Dear comrades on RAT:

It is difficult to put into words how incredibly enraged one becomes at reading such a load of racist bullshit as that article on Quebec—"Z meets 007 in Quebec"—in an otherwise fine revolutionary paper such as RAT.

Quebec, despite its strategic proximity to the jugular of the American empire, has been one of the least publicized struggles in the U.S. revolutionary press. When, at a time of crisis like now, one finally reads something so full of bullshit, lies and distortions like that article it is very disappointing. Hopefully other articles and letters on Quebec will be printed to rectify the damage done by the printing of that article.

The people of Quebec, the Quebecois, have had 'spokesmen' for them before, during their lives of struggle and exploitation. For three hundred years their English masters and the French puppets have spoken about and to the Quebecois. The voices of the people have been muffled during the rebellions and bloody strikes and uprisings against a racist colonialist system that has tried to exterminate them as a people on the continent of North America. At this stage of their struggle, they have developed their own spokesmen who in the authentic language of the people articulate and act on the people's grievances and expose the colonial reality and demand redress and resistance to the total violence of a colonialist and imperialist system.

Let me say a few words about Canada, and the role of English radicals. Canada, despite the image of the draft-dodgers' haven and liberalism, cannot be seen in any sense as a refuge for American refugees. It is a country very much part of and plugged into the international system of imperialism with heavy investments in South Africa, financial support of fascist Latin American regimes, virtual control of many parts of the West Indies through large Canadian corporations and banks, and above all in their colonizing of the people of Quebec. The struggle going on in Quebec means that any Americans coming here or to Canada must relate to that struggle or deserve the fate of all those self-styled 'radicals' who enter an area where there is a struggle for national liberation and does not relate to the struggle.

The lack of understanding of the place of Quebec and its history of struggle has been one of the main problems of the Canadian radical left. They find it easier to support and relate to struggles everywhere else, and especially in the U.S., than to analyze their own colonizing position and deal with their racist and chauvinistic attitudes to the Quebec struggle. But it is essential that they do so, as it is equally important that the American movement learns about the history of struggle in Quebec, for it is Canadian soldiers now keeping law and order in the streets of Montreal, and ultimately will be American ones.

Montreal is *not* New York, and the Quebecois are *not* exactly like blacks in the U.S. For instance, the Quebecois are a *majority* not a minority in their own country and this implies a vast historical and strategic difference of their role. The American movement has to get over a racist tendency to oversimplify the particularities of other struggles and make familiar generalizations to their own experience which are just not valid.

For a good coverage and background to the current FLQ crisis, try the latest issue of the *Last Post* (an english-canadian radical news magazine originating out of Toronto). Write to the *Last Post*, P.O. Box 98, Station G, Montreal 130, Quebec. The finest book so far to come out of the Quebec revolutionary struggle of the past ten years is being translated by Monthly Review. It is Pierre Vallières' *Negres Blancs d'Amerique* whose english title is *White Niggers of America* and is to be published this January. It is required reading for anyone interested in understanding the nature and history of Quebec society and its struggle for national liberation.

Yea RAT!!

Power to the People
POUVOIR AU PEUPLE QUEBECOIS

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need your help, sisters and brothers in Quebec—your criticism, your support, your articles (either in French or English).

LE QUEBEC LIBRE!

Write on Quebec!

To our revolutionary sisters on RAT,

We are writing this letter in partial response to the article Z meets 007 in Quebec. We are fully aware who participated in the writing of the article and are amazed that you would work with people who have discredited themselves time and time again with their left colonial attitude, rampant racism and their 'revolutionary trips'.

A proper understanding of the nature and precise characteristics of our struggle does not come from invective from fucked-up racist English people who have never worked in any movement actively advancing our fight and whose main source is an American heavy-in-exile.

Our struggle for the liquidation of Canadian colonialism contributes to the destruction of American imperialism and gives to the American people the best example of our solidarity. This factor is important from our people who ask only from you the same solidarity—the respect of our culture and the reinforcement of your struggle. Within our own movement we sought to seize the particularities of your liberation struggle. For us, your struggle is not just one of many, it is not just an aggregate of so-called way-out actions. We have seriously and consistently sought to analyze the different trends, discern its direction—for our revolutions must be linked continually or there is little chance of victory.

Yet the article you printed is but a mass of liberal-racist gibberish, the jabbering of people who possess no knowledge of our history, our culture, nor of any of the revolutionary organizations engaged in the fight.

How can you print an article opening with the lines 'I'm not sure what specifically motivated the FLQ to the kidnappings' is beyond our imagination.

Or the utilization of racist theoretical structures in the line purporting Pierre LaPorte to be a liberal, progressive man of the people, and involving a comparison with Eugene McCarthy. We highly doubt whether the black masses of your country would agree with your analysis. In any case, analogy is totally false. Pierre Laporte was the Mafia bagman for his party, and moreover as Minister of Unemployed personally made strike-breaking legislation, etc.

Or the CIA theory of history that the CIA is supposedly behind LaPorte's death. An analysis that

could only flow from a white English radical's horror of revolutionary violence. The more we analyzed your article, the more enraged we became. At least you could have printed the basic facts of the kidnappings correctly, or spell the names of our people correctly.

It should be understood that the reason that there is little response from the rest of Canada's 'left' is not only a product of press censorship as you would suggest, but a direct result of racism—i.e., the 'radicals' who wear Free Huey buttons and support the annihilation of our people.

And then the total racist crap about the French educational system, etc.—the colonizers' line, where all blame for the situation wherein our people find themselves is put on themselves—'they drink... lazy... fault of the Church', etc. Even a superficial analysis of society of Quebec would show that:

1. In so far as the education system is a reason for the backwardness of our people, those Quebecois who were in charge collaborated to serve the interests of the colonizers.

2. That as in any colony, the education is structured to serve the needs of the system. Therefore now in the supposedly good schools you allude to that our people have, are nothing but factories for turning out technicians to serve the needs of Canadian capital.

For 200 years the colonialist Canadian government has been able by silence, cynicism and lies to prevent world opinion from learning of their crimes. The success of this politics of silence was aided by the complicity of American imperialism which has its own interest in preserving the colony of Quebec. The demasking of Canadian colonialism was the work of Quebec patriots conscious of the vital necessity to smash the myth of Canadian liberalism, conscious of the necessity to isolate Canada from her very own allies, conscious of the necessity of elevating the fight to its protracted stage: armed struggle.

To defend our people, to defend their struggle, the sons and daughters of Quebec took up arms. And the people support them. And we shall win.

We send you revolutionary greetings and trust that the future errors may be avoided by a real and concrete understanding of our common struggle.

from a Quebecois revolutionary

To our comrades in Quebec,

As pointed out in another article in this issue, we here in the American monster are both victims and tools of this imperialist system. Letters like the ones above from you help us to see this more clearly. We know that before the kidnappings, the War Measures Act, etc., we knew nothing about Canada (not even basic things like geography, major industries, form of government)—and certainly not anything about Quebec. (so much for our educational system).

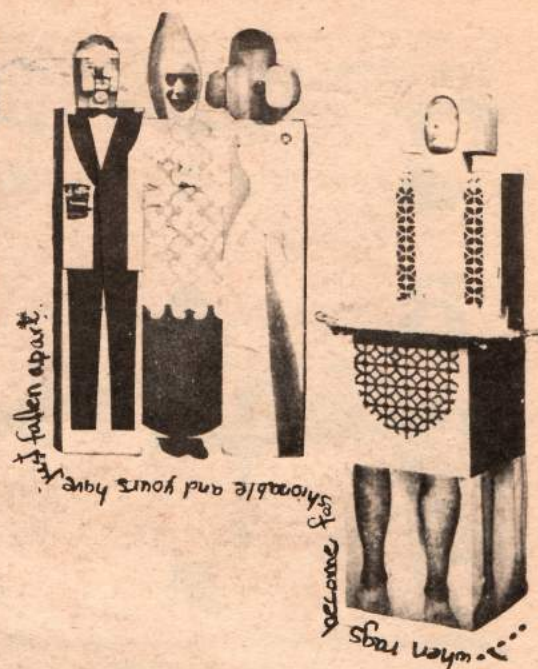
There are a few criticism in the above letters which are not the fault of the 'intermediaries,' but of those of us at RAT. One is the misspelling of names and places—it was a taped interview—resulting from lack of time (to look things up or to even proofread the article decently) which is not an excuse, but is not the fault of those interviewed. Another criticism, the emphasis on the CIA theory, comes from several things. One is the total lack of understanding of

why LaPorte, a French Canadian, was killed—what his position was, what the majority of Quebecois thought of him. Some people (American) in New York City who are trusted politically and who had been to Montreal a number of times showed despair at the killing of LaPorte in view of the widespread support of FLQ Manifesto and reports of growing grassroots political power among the majority of Quebecois workers. Another reason is the habit of American radicals to attribute fascist, repressive and divisive actions by foreign governments as somehow perpetuated or at least exacerbated by the American CIA and other American pig powers (industrialists, politicians, etc.). This is now an axiom, well-documented, but it too often leads to a glossing over of real political, social and economic differences within a country like Quebec, about which so little is known here anyway. We are only beginning to grasp the differences between colonialism and American imperialism

The person mentioned in the above letters was not the person who we interviewed for our article. And although the article displayed the racist, colonialist attitude of English-speaking Canadians toward the Quebecois which so rightfully enrages you, that attitude (which, unfortunately, almost all white people in America have too) will have to be struggled with on all levels so that we can survive, win and build a communist system which oppresses no one.

Consciousness of how we perpetuate American cultural chauvinism to the extent of fucking-over our revolutionary sisters and brothers is only going half-way. It is important for all of us to read the books recommended above, to discuss them, to communicate with the Quebecois about them. We at RAT are particularly interested in the history, struggle and movement of our sisters in Quebec. To publish information and narrow the gap of understanding so that we can better struggle together, we will

CLASS IS...



...when you're embarrassed to bring people home with you.

... WHEN YOUR PARENTS TELL YOU TO GET NEW FRIENDS.

... when everyone tells you you're too loud!



... when you're at a meeting and you say something that's really important to you and NOBODY LISTENS and then someone more "ARTICULATE" says the same thing and everyone listens and agrees.

... when you think you invented something new when you do communal childcare.

... when you're always angry and people say "now, now, what's wrong, you've been so resentful lately" and when you tell them why they say you're too violent.

... when people say "let's have healthy children" and tell you to feed them [or yourself if you're pregnant] STEAK, EGGS, MILK... [and then even judge what kind of mother you are]

... when you save all your money to buy some clothes and someone tells you you look bourgeois

... when you think there's no class differences among your friends because they're all enlightened or hippies or artists



It was nice to see the Smiths again - but I'm afraid I caught a cold in their chilly, drafty house.

... believing you don't know how to do anything really important.

... WHEN YOU PUT SOMEONE DOWN FOR BEING CONCERNED ABOUT MONEY.



... when you're told you have to eat all the food on your plate because people in (Europe... Asia... Latin America... India) are starving — and that's also called IMPERIALISM. (people in other countries also know that and that's why there are REVOLUTIONS)

CLASS MAKES PEOPLE HATE.
CLASS DIVIDES PEOPLE.
WOMEN ARE KEPT TO CARRY CLASS BY MEN.
IF WE (WOMEN) SEE OUR OWN AND GIVE IT UP WE CAN ALL SEE THE REAL ENEMY.



The following is an interview with a woman from the Women's Bail Fund Committee. The Bail Fund Committee is a coalition of women in New York City, including women from the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Party, the Anti-Imperialist Women's Collective, Youth Against War and Fascism, and Women's Liberation groups. The Bail Fund is planning a demonstration on December 20 in front of the Women's House of Detention, to announce the start of a bail-raising campaign for non-movement women inside the House of D.

What is the makeup of the Bail Fund?

The Bail Fund was originally made up of about six to ten women who met at the Women's Center to discuss the project. The women did not know each other ahead of time, however, many had worked as part of the coordinating collective of the Women's Center.

What are the politics and purpose of the Bail Fund?

The politics of the Bail Fund are complicated. They began with the realization that women, whether in jail or out, were imprisoned by this society. We wanted to draw the parallels between the women in jail and outside. We wanted to use the Bail Fund as one way to both effectively help women and also begin to talk to white women about the concepts of class and race and how the women's movement, if it is going to get anywhere, is going to have to deal concretely with these issues. How it is essential to develop a class perspective to understand the structure of the country and how best to fight it and to understand how to relate to women of other races. We felt this could best be done in a supportive way which would be concrete, not just rhetorical, which women could see and understand and relate to and that would be a material help to Third World and poor white women. The politics developed over a series of six months. The first meetings, our ideas were very general. We knew generally and vaguely about ideas about class. We started discussing these ideas and how it was important to work on them. Then we got involved into dealing with procedural matters on how to bail women out, the technical problems involved, how to deal with women once they got out—so we spent a considerable amount of time thinking about the kinds of programs we could direct women to and have the names and addresses of for the women when they got out, if they needed them.



DEMONSTRATE

Sunday, December 20 (10th Anniversary of the NLF) at 2 p.m.

at the Women's House of Detention (6th Avenue and Greenwich Avenue)

What has the Bail Fund been doing so far?

The first problem was to communicate with the women inside, because there is absolutely no public information, and what information there is is contradictory. There is no systematic information on charges, on bail, on how long a woman has been in, on what has been happening to her, medical records, anything. So we have been contacting lawyers, who have visiting privileges because they are representing women inside and they have been bringing us names from lists they see in the hall and asking their clients for names. With the few names we have, we have been writing to the women inside.

What has been the response from the women inside?

The women have been very enthusiastic. One woman talked about a project she had thought about, which was to collect money from the women inside in order to bail themselves out.

The second thing we have done in order to communicate with the women inside is the demonstration we have planned for December 20 at 2:00 p.m. to stand outside the House of D and shout up to the women that there is a Bail Fund. That was the original purpose of the demonstration. Another thing we have done is to organize a demonstration outside a bazaar held by the Friendly Visitors. They are a charity organization which gives the prisoners yarn for the women who wish to crochet. What happens is that the women use the yarn to crochet sweaters, scarves, hats and dresses, but they are not allowed to keep them. They go back to the Friendly Visitors who sell them at a bazaar and keep the profits. The bazaar is held annually before Christmas, the idea being that women from the Village would come in and buy their presents cheap. To counteract this, we wrote up a leaflet aimed at the women who were going inside to buy the goods which was simply informational -- Did you know that the women don't get any reward from this? Did you know that the women are in jail because they are poor and can't afford bail and that there is a Bail Fund-- Would you rather contribute to the Bail Fund than buy the articles. Most of the women who were going in expressed sympathy with the idea but few contributed to the project. We feel that the project was pretty successful because of what was happening inside. There was a bazaar, a fashion show, and a short play. The play described the conditions in the House of D and how they're going to be changed at Riker's Island which is the new correctional institution that's going to be built for the women. One of the improvements that's going to be at Rikers Island is a shop where women could sell their own goods. It was felt from the way this was phrased in the play that it was stuck in at the very last minute to appease the women who were outside. Another project that we've been working on is to prepare aids in understanding legal procedures written in lay language for women inside the jail. We are learning from lawyers the basic things women have to know, how to get postponements, why one should get postponements, what to tell the judge, how to deal

with the Legal Aid lawyer, and so forth, plus information about their charges, what can happen to them, how the court works. We are going to print this up in understandable language in Spanish and English and get it inside the House. We are also going to write the women asking if they wish to send out their articles so that we can sell them on the outside and keep the money for them, because when they get out of jail, they get only one dollar. We will also be preparing literature about crime and why we feel all women are political prisoners. It is our job as white women to relate to white women on the outside and explain why we feel the Bail Fund is a relevant project and how it is relevant to the women's movement. The Third World women working on the Committee understand immediately why it is a relevant project and are working to spread information about the Bail Fund in their communities.

Would you say the Bail Fund women are basically middle-class? What are the problems involved with the women inside the House of D relating to this group?

Yes, we are mainly middle-class. It's a problem of not really having gone through the same experiences, of having a theoretical understanding. So far, we haven't bailed anyone out, so we don't really know and it's just a matter of expectations. We hope that the women will get involved with the project. Joan Bird suggested this. Two women who were in the House of D who weren't bailed out by us but have been there are working with us on speaking engagements.

How are the Third World women relating to the Bail Fund movement?

The Panther and Lords women are doing quite a lot of work. Denise Oliver of the YL has designed a poster that we will sell. Afeni Shakur and Joan Bird are invaluable because of their political experience. Joan and Afeni suggested bailing our one woman to

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Make checks
Payable to:
Women's Bail Fund
P.O. Box 637
Cooper Station,
N.Y. 10003

PA8

tear down the walls!

WHO IS IN THE WOMEN'S HOUSE OF DETENTION?

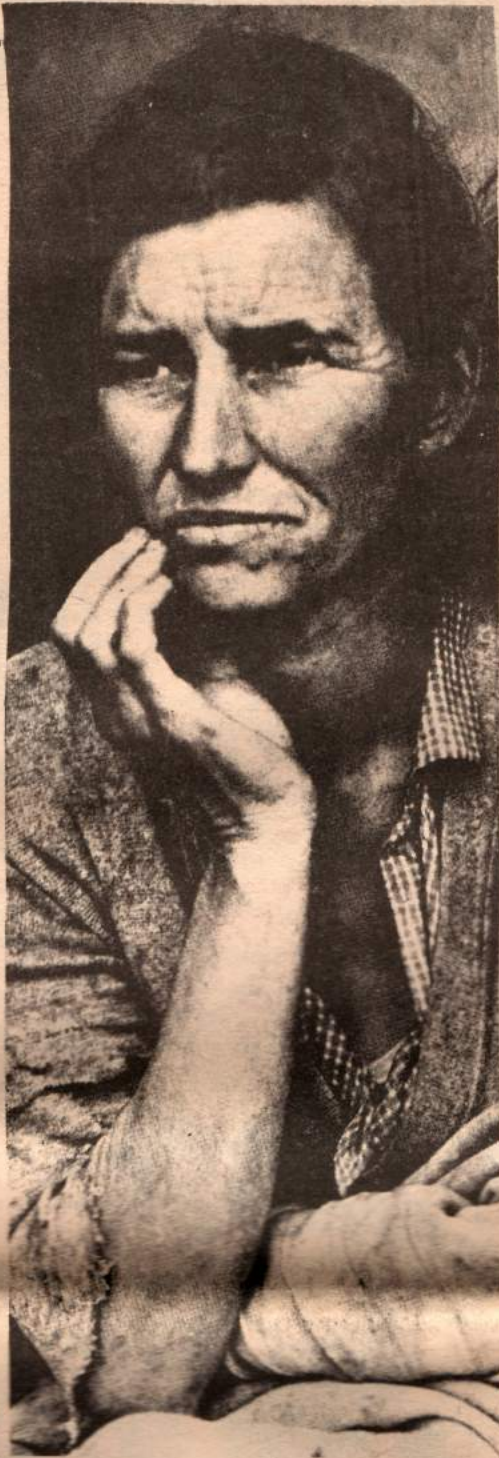
There are approximately 700 sisters imprisoned in the House of Detention. The House is a blatant example of one of the many institutions in Amerika directed against people because of their sex, race, or class. The majority of women in the House are Black and Puerto Rican, and all are poor. About 200 of them have been found "guilty" and are presently serving time.

The remaining 500 are on pre-trial detention, which means they are serving time before being tried, even though Amerikan law clearly states that people are innocent until proven guilty. Average pre-trial stay in the House of D is 4 months (which means much longer for many women).

THESE WOMEN ARE BEING PENALIZED FOR BEING POOR. Bails are set from \$100 to \$1000, which means the same as \$100,000 for women with no money at all. This is no accident. "Bail" by definition means signing over your personal property to the court in exchange for your freedom. If you don't have any property, you can't bail yourself out: by definition, poor people were never included in the right to bail.

WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS IN THE HOUSE OF D?

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOUSE OF D ARE SYSTEMATICALLY DESIGNED TO DESTROY THE SISTERS' HEALTH AND CRUSH THEIR SPIRIT FOR THE PURPOSE OF KEEPING THEM UNDER CONTROL. Basic necessities must be brought in by relatives or bought at the ill-stocked Commissary at above-market prices, as the women are supplied with very few and poor-quality items. Women must go through hassles to receive visitors other than relatives. Medical attention is tardy and deplorable. Food is poor. Rats and roaches abound. Even pre-trial women are locked into cells.



ECONOMICALLY, WOMEN IN THE HOUSE OF D ARE KEPT DEPENDENT AND ARE EXPLOITED. Women are only allowed to spend \$10 per week maximum at the Commissary, but most women don't even have that much. Because even basic necessities of life are not available, the women are dependent on the Commissary or on the "Friendly Visitors", a women's "charity" organization sponsored by the Dept. of Corrections and composed almost exclusively of white, religiously-inclined women. The Friendly Visitors will give a sister \$1.50 per week if she asks (read: begs) for it. To get it, she must go through a lot of "how I went wrong" bullshit to these women.

Economic necessity also drives many women into unwanted, dependent sexual alliances with women inmates who have more money or privileges (such as a job in the kitchen means extra food) than they do, or with the women guards.

But even if a women's prison should be built that claims to be progressive and humane, and provides women with some measure of physical comfort, as the one planned for women at Riker's Island is claiming to do, the basic fact still remains: NO WOMAN IN PRESENT-DAY AMERIKA BELONGS IN ANY PRISON. And even if liberal public opinion is coopted for awhile and pressure is eased on the Dept. of Corrections, conditions in this prison will soon deteriorate as soon as the public eye is no longer focussed on them, just as conditions in the "modern progressive" House of D, built in the 1920's, deteriorated. Moving women to Riker's Island is also an attempt to isolate them even further from the people outside, so they can be even more brutally mistreated and all sparks of rebellion can be stamped out immediately.

For their work inside the jails, women are paid on a sliding scale—from 3 cents to 10 cents an hour! Janitorial

and laundry work pays 3 cents an hour; medical and library workers receive 6 cents an hour; kitchen workers, who have to work 10 to 15 hours a day, are paid 10 cents an hour.

DRUGS ARE USED IN PRISON TO SUPPRESS THE WOMEN. The fourth floor is divided into troublemakers, kickers, and "diagnostics". It is a convenient prison within a prison for those who show signs of rebellion. If a woman is kicking a habit, she is put on methadone for three days and then on tranquilizers and sleeping pills for a week. After that, she is on her own, even though a woman with a severe habit may go through a series of subsequent withdrawals. But this does not concern the pigs. They don't want to spend money to help women but only to keep them down. So they spend lots of money administering drugs on a regular basis to women who are "hard to handle". Such women are forced to receive these pacification drugs whether they want them or not. "Nervous" women on Corridor 4C receive tranquilizers. So-called "diagnostics" — women who are considered psychopathic because they do not conform to the norms of an insane society — are given a combination of thorozone plus chloralhydrate.

THE PIGS TRY TO SQUELCH ANY SIGNS OF SOLIDARITY AND LOVE BETWEEN SISTERS. For the women in the House of D, relationships with their sisters are a real source of solidarity, humanity and warmth, the

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ratio

WHY ARE WOMEN ARRESTED?

Drug Addiction and Drunkenness:

Society encourages women to become addicts of every kind, to deny themselves the kind of vitality that would make them demand real lives. No one is disturbed to see a mindless, passive woman; in fact, the more mindless and passive, the more "womanly". Few people think of the epidemic of barbiturate addiction among middle-class women as a serious social problem. That's because in a capitalist society, to have half the population reduced to nitwits is not considered a loss; on the contrary, it's the only way the society can go on functioning. What is a problem is the crimes committed by women who are too poor to come by their dope legally. Not prostitution so much: for a woman to be used by a man and be paid for it is so universally accepted in our society (what is a "date"? What is a middle-class marriage?) that people are reluctant to prosecute her for it. But when she steals—when she commits the crimes that men do—she steps out of her role, and is imprisoned.

Prostitution:

Prostitution is the only "crime" automatically connected with women. Women are not the only prostitutes, but somehow people feel that a person's selling her/his body for another's sexual gratification is an essentially feminine act. Prostitutes really do live out one side of what being "feminine" means. Every woman is taught that she has to be sexually exciting to many men in order to feel like a real woman; that if she pleases a man, he will pay her way in exchange for her companionship. As one sister

who has worked as a hooker wrote, "All the prostitute has done is eliminate the bullshit."

Third World women comprise 70% of the "low class" prostitutes the police harass at will. "Under capitalism, Third World women are forced to compromise themselves because of their economic situation. The facts that her man cannot get a job and that her family is dependent on her for support means that she hustles money, by any means necessary. Black and Puerto Rican sisters are put into a situation where jobs are scarce or nonexistent and are forced to compromise body, mind, and soul; they are then called whores or prostitutes." (Young Lords Position Paper on Women) A matron at the Women's House of D in New York said simply, "These women are drug addicts first and prostitutes second."

Pleas for an end to prostitution usually come from hypocritical males or from women who fail to see the similarities between prostitution and their own oppression. Only as an autonomous revolutionary women's movement develops will the real elimination of prostitution and all other forms of human degradation become possible.

Larceny:

More women are arrested for larceny than for any other crime, and larceny offenses are rising faster than any other crime area. Larceny includes shoplifting, purse snatching, pocket picking, and domestic pilferage; these crimes are committed mainly by black and Third World people. Yet middle-class women, in enormous numbers, are beginning to steal as inflation forces the prices of necessities like food, clothing, and furniture beyond even their reach, a situation which is nothing new to their Third World sisters.

Statistically, the "criminal liability" of women in domestic service is higher than that of women factory workers. (The Criminality of Women, Pollak, 1950) This may mean only that there's more incentive—and more opportunity—to steal in a home than in a factory. A woman works as a domestic because she has no choice. She is black, Third World, or poor white, and has no skills except those taught to all women to fit them for the role society forces them into: cooking, cleaning, making beds, raising children. So she spends her days performing these tasks in another woman's home in addition to her own. Her pay is among the lowest in the country. It's hard for her not to notice, as she slaves among their possessions, that these people have far more than they need. If she tries to change the obvious inequities of her situation, she's labeled a thief—and is locked up.

Runaways:

Besides prostitution, runaways are the only other category in which over half of those arrested are women. The main reason for this is that the family structure restricts the liberties of a young girl and curtails her development as a full human being even more than it does the development of a boy. Parents can maintain control over her activities, in the guise of protection, until she is delivered into the hands of a husband. The qualities inculcated in her for her future role as wife and mother—dependence, passivity, self-denial—make it especially difficult for her to survive in the streets.

The isolation and self-contempt imposed on women by our major institutions are made worse, not better, in juvenile halls. It's no surprise that "delinquent" females, aged 16 to 18, are regarded as the most hopeless cases. That their "crimes" are

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HOUSING CRIMES TRIAL

Why is it such an incredible hassle to get an apartment in this city? Why do whole neighborhoods such as East New York, Brownsville or the South Bronx have an appearance of being bombed? We know there is a recession, and that money is tight across the whole country, but is it as bad, really, in other cities?

The answer is no. In last week's Village Voice, Jack Newfield ran down some facts about the city's housing program, concluding that 'the abandonment and demolitions are twice the rate of new housing actually being built.' One of the employees of the Housing Development Administration made this revealing statement to Newfield-

'There is no will here to build housing. And the bureaucracy is incompetent. The city isn't applying for one fiftieth of the federal funds available for rehabilitation of existing housing. It's hard work, and Walsh (head of HDA) doesn't do it. 4 or 5 million dollars a year is being wasted this way. Every year upstate cities like Utica, Syracuse, and Buffalo get the money we could be getting if we were more alert. It's an annual thing. Every year those cities know the money will be waiting for them because our bureaucracy doesn't function to meet the needs of people.'

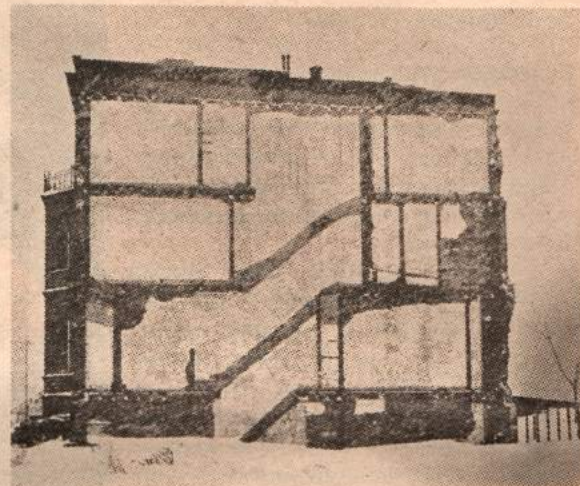
A city employee testifying to the total disfunctioning of the city agency that is supposed to provide people with housing. Even in terms of the "democratic" process - like so many other state and city agencies - welfare, the courts, the schools - it is totally fucking up and the few villains at the top, despite accusations from within their own departments stay secure, blind and rich. Thousands and thousands of poor families after eviction from often sound apartments are forced into slum housing in neighborhoods they have no ties to, or to welfare hotels where each family that enters suffers another dose of lasting psychological and physical damage. (Last week a child fell down a hole in a stairwell and was killed in the Broadway Central Hotel while going from his room to his mothers' - the family had been given two rooms on two different floors). The liberal press lately has been resounding with outraged articles about the conditions in welfare hotels, and about the housing crisis in general; the 'movement' straggles out to support the few squatter's actions which seem to be growing more intermittent as the winter closes in, and we wonder about how to understand and clarify for ourselves the facts and potential of the squatters movements.

'The Housing Crimes Trial' held at Columbia on Sunday December 6th co-ordinated by the Metropolitan Council on Housing - brought together a wide cross-section of those groups of squatters and tenants groups that are working around the housing conditions in this city, and for the people that went it was a chance to hear about each local struggle and get a sense of what the exact issues were, and where support was needed most immediately.

The range and variety of political and community organizations and the solidarity that was obviously felt by all, was impressive. Besides the presence of and communication between the groups, the importance of the fact that the structure of the trial allowed so many individual men and women to speak out about their miserable living conditions cannot be underestimated. As women, we have each begun to understand the need for that process of gaining a sense of reality about our own voices, and each person who spoke about the crimes of the city against them, must have gained from speaking in that supportive context. More, each testimony gave people in the audience yet another shot of (hopefully) activating indignation. However, as the trial wore on, and the judges for the people meted out sentences to the city and hypothetical damages to the tenants (one woman-squatter received a 99 year lease and an order to pay no more rent)-we began to question the value of that structure, particularly in terms of political consciousness and organizing action around housing. The sight, in particular, of one woman breaking down while giving testimony about how she is forced to live in one room in the uptown Y and her teenage son has to stay in Brooklyn, gave an unfortunate aura of sensationalist liberalism to the trial. The desperate

lonely woman behind the microphone, the false prosecutor behind his, the people's judges isolated up on the rostrum, and us in our spectators' seats were all frozen into a helpless, useless silence while she cried. The video-tape ran on - our evidence of the city's capitalism's injustice secure, but what could be done to provide a safe, warm apartment for that woman and her son that night?

Plans for actions, suggestions for strategies were in fact made. Operation Move-In speakers clearly outlined the impending fight with the city about one particular building and 3 homeless families (details are below). Another witness - the only one who suggested that the trial was a reform measure - after charging the city, the bankers, and the landlords with "collusion", suggested the only way to move was to exhort people to stop paying rent all over the city, starting in one's own building and then organizing block by block. A Puerto Rican woman in the Newsreel squatters film suggested squatters should begin occupying luxury buildings. The audience thought it an outtasight plan.



CONTACT LIST

Operation Move-In - 90th St and Amsterdam Ave 874-9162
 El Comité 87th St and Columbus 874-9162 873-2340
 Chinatown Squatters- 99 Madison St 233-6451
 Metropolitan Council on Housing -2,31st St 947-6027
 Cooper Square- 4th St and 2nd Ave CA8-8210
 Coalition on Human Housing- 637 E 13th St 254-2950
 Young Lords- 111th St and Madison 427-7754
 3rd St and Ave C 533-7870

DRUMMER AND BASIST
 WANTED FOR
 WOMENS LIBERATION
 ROCK GROUP.
 MUST BE VERSATILE,
 FOR UPCOMING
 RECORDING DATE
 CALL 873-4677
 982-3273

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DEMANDS OF CITY-WIDE SQUATTING MOVEMENT

The City must move now to deal with the present emergency, which affects ALL our people, but hurts Blacks, Puerto Ricans, large families and the elderly most of all. Therefore, we DEMAND THE FOLLOWING:

1. The legalization of the tenancy of all squatters.
2. The dropping of all charges against squatters and their supporters.
3. The declaration of a moratorium on the demolition and luxury renovation of habitable housing.
4. The requiring of landlords to rent all vacant apartments they are keeping off the market. The city must take over all buildings in which there are vacant apartments for a month or more.
5. The institution by the city, using its own funds, of a crash building and renovation program. For the first year, it should construct 10,000 new low-rent public housing units and restore an additional 40,000 low-rent units by the takeover of abandoned and neglected buildings. Extend public ownership with tenant control to all housing, eliminating private profit and being guided only by tenant needs.
6. The landlords should be prevented from vandalizing their own property, opening the apartments to undesirables and all other forms of harassment of tenants.

This principle of local rent strike is one of the stated aims of the Metropolitan Council on Housing - the city-wide group that coordinated the trial. Despite the tactical limitations of the trial, Met. Council performs a valuable service to the housing struggle by a group of about 20 - 30 volunteers who are able to help organize rent strikes. They also put out valuable information on housing facts and struggles and serve as a central coordinating office for squatters' and rent strike actions.

"The will to build housing" or the will to have housing must, however, come from the families who have made their lives in this city and wish to stay in their communities. The way things are now, the people have been systematically stripped of that will, and it is a painful and slow process for us to build for ourselves a sense of power over our own lives. We are all learning from people-serving political organizations like the Young Lords, Black Panther Party, I Wor Kuen, and El Comité (all of whom were present at the Housing Trial) that our calls for action must come directly out of the need and oppression of our own communities. If the housing movement is to continue to grow to be able to seriously challenge the power structure that controls real estate in this city, much less provide decent housing for every family that lives in this city, it must struggle to develop more collective organizational structures.

We received this position paper on 'Why housing is a women's liberation issue' from the West Side Women's Center a few days after the Housing Crimes Trial took place. We feel it is significant that a representative from the Women's Center only succeeded in making a brief summary of the position paper at the trial, after being cut off together with a group of witnesses from the upper West side, and having to argue for two hours before being allowed to speak. The paper itself is only an indication of one stage in a process; it is not definitive and does not pretend to give final answers about the problems of classism, racism and sexism. These questions are being struggled with in different ways within the collective that wrote this paper, within the women's movement as a whole, and within the mixed coalitions, collectives and community groups that are working towards people's control of their own lives. In this case, for instance, the tenants at Operation Move-In have much to teach this women's group about their racism and classism, while the women have things to communicate to the organizers of the tenants about the need to develop new forms of collective control.

WHY HOUSING IS A WOMEN'S LIBERATION ISSUE

Many women who sympathize with the squatters movement and other housing struggles in the community have questioned the need to commit ourselves to these struggles as a Women's Liberation Center and to take action as women for ourselves on this issue.

Of course housing is a basic need and right for all people regardless of sex. We are not claiming it as a strictly women's issue or saying that women deserve housing more than men. What we are trying to say is that we must understand our support for the squatter's movement in terms of our own very real and immediate housing needs, not as a gesture of sympathy towards others we consider more oppressed than ourselves.

Women's Liberation must become the way we live and struggle together every day, not the place we come for a meeting once a week. This is impossible for many women within the prisons of their present living conditions.

Mothers forced to spend twenty-four hours a day with their children in a one-room apartment, with no privacy for themselves or their children and no escape from each other's company, are oppressed by their

kids and oppressive to them. They cannot get out to meetings at night and they cannot have women meet at their place. Liberation requires growing space.

Women struggling with marital conflicts, women who find they can no longer live with a man, are locked into living arrangements intolerable to both the woman and the man because they cannot afford to move out, or fear they are not strong enough to live all alone.

Young women ready to work out their own lives are forced to remain in their parents' homes because they have no place to go.

Some women are lucky enough to find a place for themselves but are told: "We don't rent to single women." "We only rent to families with fathers." "We don't want children in this building."

It is often said that we are largely a middle-class oriented movement. But for women, the benefits of such identification are usually contingent upon our relationship with a man. When we break out on our own, our economic positions change. Any discussion of women in relation to class divisions is bound to be complicated and confused. But on the housing issue on the West Side we can see the class lines being sharply drawn. What is officially designated as "middle-income" housing means \$80.00 per room and up. Working women who must support themselves and their children by their own wages do not have the "middle-income" jobs, especially not in this period of growing unemployment and layoffs. Women who have lived under the financial jurisdiction of a husband or parent for many years do not have the money at their disposal to buy their freedom at these prices.

Women's Liberation cannot be revolutionary unless we can provide the support for each other to find new alternatives to the present choice of the nuclear family or total isolation. One such possibility could be collectives of women living together and supporting each other with cooperative day care, cooking, building maintenance and moral support.

Such an alternative living arrangement within the present reality of available housing is prohibitive. We cannot afford the rents. Landlords would certainly not care for such an arrangement. Squatting may provide the only solution. It becomes increasingly clear that IF WE WANT THE SPACE TO GROW AND CHANGE, WE MUST TAKE IT FOR OURSELVES. Housing Collective West Side Women's Liberation Center 627 Amsterdam Avenue 874-6696

Operation Move-In and El Comité have been actively attempting on the upper west side to move evicted families into city-owned buildings slated for demolition, but standing vacant with full utilities available. They have filled up 27 buildings, and have one tenant per building in about nine other buildings. An agreement with HDA had been made to cease opening up, buildings in return for no harassment, and heat and hot water for all squatting families.

On November 17th, three families and a supporting group of the OMI community (including four women from the Women's Storefront) were arrested for criminal trespass and herded out of the barricaded building by the TPF, supported by two other precincts. Two families had recently been evicted and made homeless, and the city gave no assurance of emergency housing in the area, when their own buildings stand vacated and habitable for months. Since 113, W 87th St was still open with one legal tenant yet there, OMI moved the families in. Then the bust.

35 people were arrested and charged with criminal trespass I. The three families have been ordered to go to welfare hotels, but are planning to squat again in one of the thousands of buildings the city keeps empty.

YOUR SUPPORT IS NEEDED!

WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 16th: PROTEST MARCH AND RALLY FOR THE WESTSIDE 35.

5:00 pm 112th St and Amsterdam- march to 113 W87th St

7:00 pm Rally at 113 W87th St

8:30 pm Motorcade and march to Gracie Mansion JOIN IN THIS PROTEST AGAINST ROTTEN HOUSING-WELFARE HOTELS-SLUM-LORDS-'URBAN REMOVAL', ONLY TOGETHER DO WE HAVE THE POWER. POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

THURSDAY DEC. 17th: Arraignment at 100 Center St, 9:30am, Part 1A

If found guilty, the defendants are liable for a total of \$29,500 in fines, and/or a year in jail. COME TO COURT AND SUPPORT THE HOUSING STRUGGLE!

PAGE 11



Q Very Pleasurable Politics

It is time for all of us to learn to love ourselves, to learn how to make love to ourselves. This is the first step in learning to love others and give pleasure to others. To be able to touch our bodies and experience pleasure, not shame or guilt, is part of the struggle to integrate our bodies and minds. Our hands, our feet, our bodies, our minds are tools for change.

Masturbation is not something to do just when you don't have a lover. It's different from, not inferior to, sex for two. It's also the first, easiest and most convenient way to experiment with your body. It's a way to find out what feels good, with how much pressure, at what tempo, and how often. You also don't have to worry about someone else's needs or opinions of you. The more you know about your body the easier it is to show someone else what gives you pleasure.

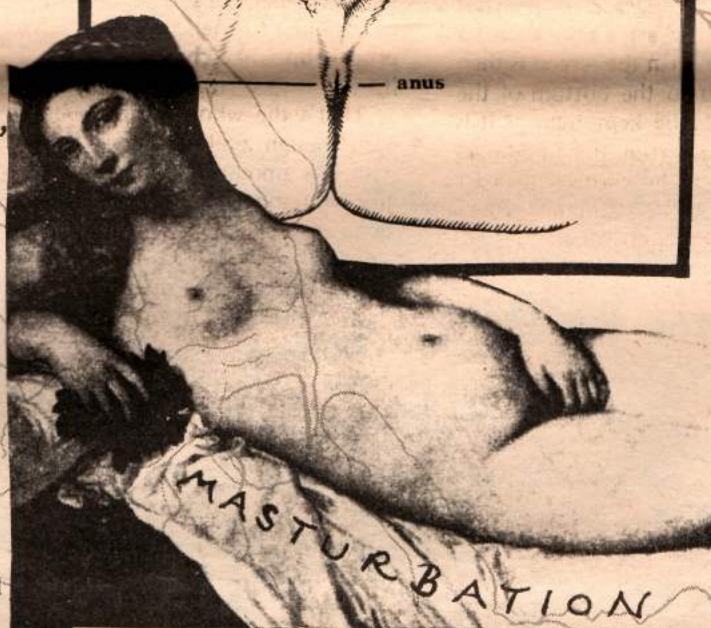
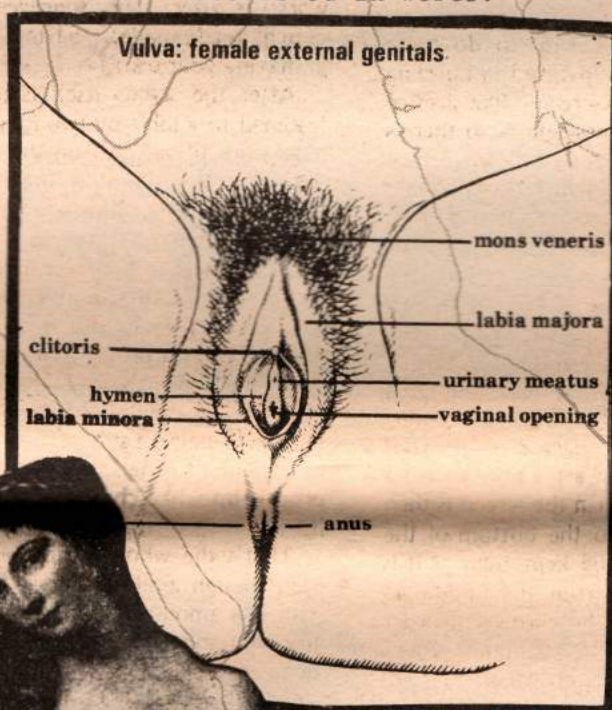
To masturbate you have to know something about your body, and in particular about your clitoris (klit'-o-ris). It is the center of most sexual stimulation. It functions like the penis in a man. When it is rubbed up and down rhythmically, you get excited. The clitoris is where all female orgasms happen, whether by masturbation, intercourse or fantasy.

In order to find your clitoris, arrange a good light, take a mirror, and identify all parts described. To find it, the thighs must be separated wide enough for comfortable vision. Then if two fingers hold apart the larger lips a mucus membrane covered hood will be seen immediately inside the front end of the space between the larger lips. The hood can be gently drawn back by the fingertips, and inside will be seen a small smooth rounded body (sometimes it is very small-only just visible) that will glisten in a good light. This is the clitoris. Its root runs upward under the hood and the junction of the outer lips, and extends for about an inch. The two inner lips begin in the mid-line close together just under the clitoris and extend down and below on each side of the smooth space in the middle and come to an end by facing away at about the middle ring of at about the middle of the ring shaped opening which is the entrance to the vagina.

After carefully and thoroughly identifying all the exterior parts, it is next necessary to prove at first hand the truth of the statement that the clitoris does possess a unique kind of sensitivity. It is best to do this with something other than your finger, because the fingertip is naturally, itself sensitive to touch, and if it is used, there may be a confusion of effect between the feeling finger and the part felt. Any small smooth object will do such as an uncut pencil, a toothbrush handle, a Q-tip etc. The procedure is one of comparison of response by

very light touches. One hand separates the outer labia without touching the inner ones, and the other hand holding the object touches first one inner lip and then the other, and then the clitoris through or under its hood.

If hand movements are watched in the mirror, it is easy to get touches accurately in the right place but without a mirror and a good light it is not easy, because an inexperienced woman has practically no sense of position if she tries to use a finger unguided by her eyes. The effect observed is that the instant the clitoris is touched a peculiar and characteristic sensation is experienced which is different in essence from touches on the labia or anywhere else. This difference has to be experienced; it cannot be described in words.



The clitoris needs rhythmic friction. Without rhythmic friction no sexual sensations are possible to man or to woman... it is no exaggeration to say that since the clitoris is the essential organ of sexual sensation in women, and that rhythmic friction is the only stimulation to which it can react, orgasm failure at the outset of sexual experience is unavoidable if the clitoris is not discovered and constantly stimulated.

Some women masturbate by moistening their finger (with either saliva or juice from the vagina) and rubbing it around and over the clitoris. The rhythmic caressing finger movements of the clitoral region can be designed to include adjacent areas of the vagina and then the two areas can function as a unit. There is probably an indefinite number of ways this can be done. It will be enough to suggest four.

First, a downward stroke beginning just above the root of the clitoris, passing over the clitoris and on down the mid-line, into the vaginal entrance, following the front wall of the passage and ending a little way inside.

Second, the reverse of the first, a movement beginning inside front vaginal wall and coming up and out along the mid-line, over the clitoris and back to where the first movement started. A rhythm of these two alternating movements carries strong suggestion that the clitoris and vaginal entrance are being treated as one and not two places of sensitive response.

The third movement is based on a frequent observation that the first area of the vagina to become sensitively alive, is a band just inside the front wall in the middle an inch or so from side to side and extending about 3/4 of an inch in. Gently stretching movements of this front part of the ring of the vaginal entrance seem to give strongest stimulation. Two finger tips can easily be slide into place and gently and rhythmically moved to stretch the front edges of the vaginal ring.

The fourth - describe a circle with the fingertips with the clitoris and the vagina on the circumference.

Some women masturbate by crossing their legs and exerting steady and rhythmic pressure on the whole genital area. A smaller number learn by developing muscular tension through their bodies, resembling the tensions developed in the motion of intercourse. Some ways of doing this is by climbing up a pole or a rope or even chinning on parallel bars. Other techniques for masturbating include using a pillow or blanket instead of a hand, a stream of water, and electric vibrators. Some women find their breasts erotically sensitive, and rub them while rubbing the clitoris (don't forget the rest of your body - try to get into caressing your own body). It's nice sometimes to make up sexual fantasies while masturbating. Some women like to insert something in the vagina while masturbating, (like a finger or vibrator) but few women get more satisfaction out of vaginal penetration than they do from clitoral stimulation.

If you have never masturbated, or have but still feel hung up about it, don't feel confined to these techniques. Finding what you like to do is what it's all about. Think about it for a while, relax, try it a little at a time - try to get into it. Here are some additional suggestions some of us came up with that we have found groovy to get in the mood.

- 1 - take a bath
- 2 - get stoned
- 3 - listen to some good music
- 4 - make sure you have lots of space to roll around in
- 5 - have some furry warm blanket or something that feels good against your skin
- 6 - use baby oil, powder, creamy lotion.

P.S. We'd love to hear your own suggestions.

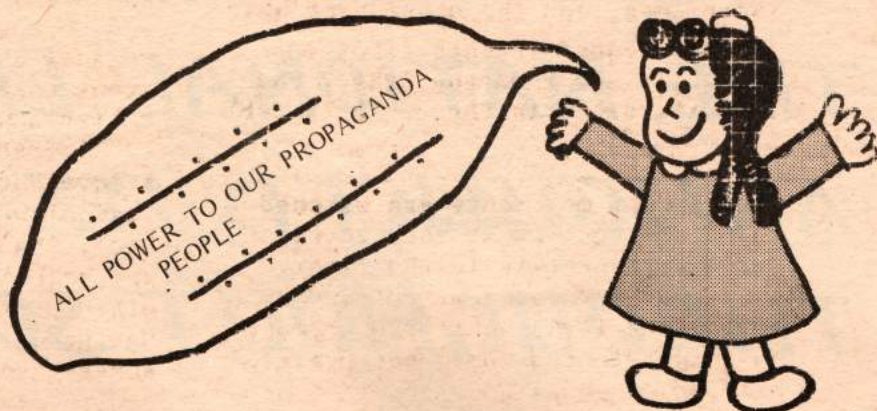
STICK IT ON THE WALL....

We know that this one article just won't make it all clear and easy to do, but silkscreening our own wall posters (or T-shirts or whatever) is really possible to do without much hassle or experience. And for anyone interested after getting through this explanation, there are paperback books (*Silk Screen Techniques* - Biegeleisen and Cohn, *Serigraphy* - Auvil) which can fill in the details about materials and procedures or, better, the Alternate U silk-screen workshop (check with them for their hours each week) where you can get help with any particular problems or learn right from the beginning.

But the idea of it is that we really don't have to be artists or printers and can make really nice looking things that get out ideas and information without spending a whole lot of money or getting all involved with printers and professionals.

There are drawbacks too - like it will take some time to get the whole thing set up - and it's a whole lot of work to print up a large quantity of anything and can get real expensive just for paper and paints (not to mention where the hell do you put all the prints to dry) - and if you use a lot of colors, you need a separate screen for each color and there is drying time in between applying each color and it gets slow. But there are simpler ways to use a silkscreen, without expensive and numerous supplies, that make it really worth knowing about.

The way the whole thing works is like a stencil which is fixed to the screen. The screen is made of a piece of fabric stretched on a wooden frame. The fabric is full of holes between its threads, so if paint is rubbed over the cloth, the color will pass right through onto a paper beneath it. - But if we block off or "stop out" the holes in the fabric in any one place, no paint goes thru there and this part will remain white if printed on paper. So, if a star-shape is cut out from thin paper and glued to the middle of the screen and we go over the whole screen with red paint, when the screen is lifted up, the paper beneath it will be all red with a white star in the middle. This can be called reverse printing, where the design you want is stopped out to prevent the paint from going through the screen and the rest of the area is left open. (This is also like a photo negative.) This method can be really good and effective when only one color is used for a poster, since it puts a lot more color on the paper and gives sharp and interesting contrasts. (It was used a whole lot by the French students during the strikes in 1968) The other basic method of printing would be to take a big piece of the thin paper, as large as your screen, cut a star shape out from the middle and fasten the big piece to the screen. When paint is applied to this, the product will be a white paper with a red star in the middle, and this is called direct printing.



Parts of the silkscreen can be blocked in different ways. You can attach a paper cutout to the screen or actually fill the holes in the fabric with glue or lacquer. Paint is pushed through the screen evenly with a squeegee (which is a long flat piece of rubber encased in a wooden handle) which is pushed and pulled across the flat surface inside the screen.

Even though it's easy to do there are a lot of details involved in building and setting up a silkscreen -- like sizes of screens and squeegees, etc. -- so there's no sense to putting it all down here -- and you can get it right out of a book. But, basically the screen is built from four pieces of wood (pine without knots in it is good), about 1" thick and 2" wide, nailed to each other to form a rectangle. L-hooks are screwed into the corners on top of the frame (on the 1" width) to make sure the frame stays in a fixed position with its corners forming right angles. Fabric (dacron mesh #10 is good - or ask at an art supply place) a few inches larger than the screen is then stapled or nailed to the bottom of the frame and should be kept tight as it is fastened, working from the middle of each side towards the corners in order to avoid loose spots. Gummed paper tape (or masking tape) is then put over the staples or nails, on the outside of

the frame as well as on the inside, extending from the fabric onto the side of the wooden frame. The tape and the edges of the fabric next to it are then given a couple of coats of shellac which seals the edges and prevents any leakage of paint.

This may sound like a whole lot of work, but after building the screen, the worst is over. The squeegee can be bought ready-made. (Savings are small in making your own.)

After the screen itself is built, it is fastened to a table by two hinges. These hinges are placed half on the silkscreen frame on the side near the fabric and half on the table, allowing enough room so that the screen can lie flat on the table surface when lowered. These hinges should have removable pins which let you take off one screen to put in another (on projects with more than one color) and it's also easier to clean the screen if they're not attached to the table. Finally, a stick of some sort can be fastened to the side of the screen to prop it up while changing papers under it.

That's the whole basic structure, so even though a silkscreen can't be built with this amount of information, it can give you some idea of what has to be done and, hopefully, make it seem fairly simple to do.

The other materials needed would be paints, (process oil paints are used most often and are said to be easiest for getting good results, but you can also use tempera or acrylics, etc.), paper,

something to block out the holes in the silkscreen and the particular solvents used for removing whatever paint or "hole-blockers" you use.

Because a silkscreen is used over and over again to print different things, it seems real important to use paints and hole-fillers that are easy to apply and easy to remove. Otherwise, it can come to not seem worth the effort and you can get too hung up in just the mechanics of the whole thing instead of the product.

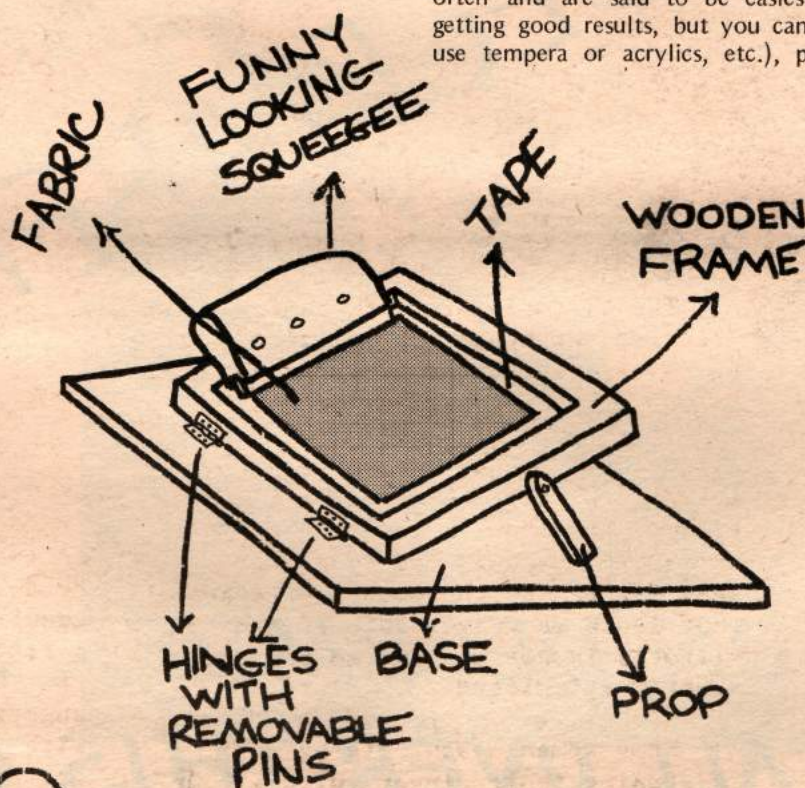
Two of the best methods for putting a stencil on the screen, in terms of small expense and ease of doing them, seem to be using paper or glue for stopping out. The details and directions for using these materials and transferring a given design from an original drawing to the screen can be easily gotten and followed from one of the books mentioned. Pieces of paper (thin and absorbent) are cut out and fixed to the screen with a few drops of glue and are further sealed to the fabric when the paint passes over them in making the first print. And the glue can simply be brushed directly onto the fabric immediately sealing the holes and taking about an hour to dry.

A number of other methods are also described including the use of lacquer, film stencil, wax, photographic equipment, etc.) but these seem more complicated, take longer and cost more. Paper and water-base glue are both cheap, and the only solvent needed for them is water. The best method of the two would seem to be glue since it will last longer - thru more printings of a single image - and uses up less paint than the paper stencil does.

Different art supply stores may carry all; some; none of the supplies you'd need. Active Process (at 15 west 20th Street) probably carries everything tho; and can help you figure out what you need and in what sizes.

Best way to start, I think, is to visit the Alternate U workshop. Or start with a book - which you really should have anyway, to help as you go along - and don't bother reading all of it - since they're only out to confuse us - pick out sections to do with the basics and the methods you want to use.

Silkscreening our own posters, etc. obviously involves a whole lot more work than taking something to the printer, but we sometimes can't get to one and sometimes don't want to. And sometimes it can be cheaper and quicker to do it ourselves with the silkscreen. But it's really not just practical reasons either that anyone might want to get into this, since the actual process of doing it can really be groovy in itself and can help in coming out with an exciting product and it's something we can learn and do together to help get out the ideas and information we think are important.



silkscreening notes

*Alternate U is located at 530 6th Ave.R Tel.989 0720

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VIETNAM cuba palestine harlem VIETNAM brazil mozambique VIETNAM korea belfast

ON DECEMBER 20, 1960, AFTER
THE NATIONAL LIBERATION
ANNOUNCED ITS EXISTENCE
THROUGHOUT SOUTH VIETNAM

HOW ARE YOU

DANCE IN THE STREETS SHOW MOVIES
MAKE GIFTS FOR THE VIETNAMESE
PLAN A CHRISTMAS PARTY FOR YOUR
LIBERATE SOME PROPERTY ANNOY A
CELEBRATE

GOING TO CELE

OPEN A HEALTH CLINIC OPEN A FOOD CO
AFTER MADAME DINH DEPUTY COMMANDER
THEN DANCE IN THE STREETS SHOW MOVIES
CELEBRATE
DECEMBER 20?

ON DECEMBER 20, 1970 WOMEN
ALL OVER THIS COUNTRY WILL
ANNOUNCE THE BIRTH OF A
SISTERHOOD FIGHTING AGAINST

VIETNAM cuba china korea harlem VIETNAM palestine watts uruguay VIETNAM roxbury quebec zimbabwe VIETNAM palestine brazil china guinea

VIETNAM cambodia china VIETNAM quebec mozambique VIETNAM oklahoma puerto rico

bury VIETNAM puerto rico LAOS VIETNAM chile quebec cambodia VIETNAM zimbabwe cuba

SPORADIC FIGHTING IN THE HILLS FRONT

AM

SCHOOL
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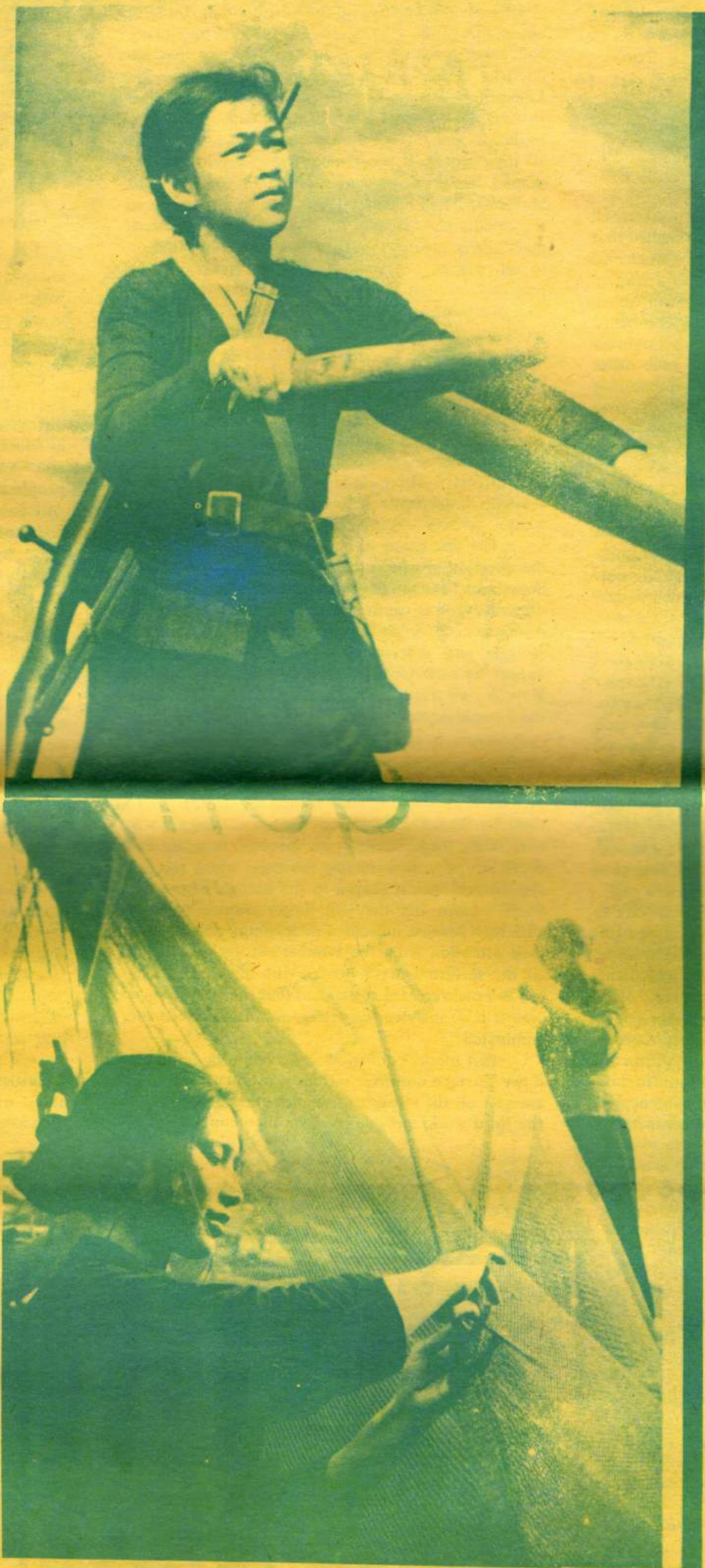
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N INTERNATIONAL INST THE FORCES OF DEATH

palestine guinea india vietnam cuba laos belfast vietnam detroit uruguay vietnam brazil



VIETNAM northern China Korea VIETNAM quebec bolivia puerto rico VIETNAM newark philippines quebec VIETNAM Korea puerto rico VIETNAM

Woman's Media Conference

Women representing the Journal of Liberation from Baltimore, OFF our Backs from Washington, Ain't I A Woman from California and RAT and Up from Under from New York, came together in N.Y. last month to a Women's Media Conference. The Conference turned out to be mostly a down and we want to explore some of the reasons why.

Going to meet with other women, all involved in similar work collectives, we assumed that the conference would begin in a spirit of excitement, warmth, and sisterhood that would create a climate of openness stimulating a flow of ideas. Through an exchange of work experience we hoped that some of the issues that we've been struggling with would be clarified and that we might learn from each other how to handle such practical problems as worksharing and distribution. The expected solidarity, we thought, would produce a concrete base for future cooperation on projects like a women's news service or joint distribution in some areas.

The expectation of instant sisterhood did not allow our natural feelings of apprehensiveness at meeting many new women to come out in a way that we could deal with them. Instead, the image of unity in sisterhood obscured real differences among ourselves and because there was no way in which to deal with them, they had a stifling effect on us.

Most of us entering the room felt uptightness permeating it that made us gravitate toward the food table or the already familiar faces. Not letting out our fears made us even more insecure and selfconscious. Feeling separated we found ourselves checking each other out in old fucked up ways? by looks and clothes - catering to old biases of who is straight, hip, movement, etc, speculating about each other's class background, sexuality, movement weight. Just on appearance we guessed each other's political line: who's a heavy feminist, who's "still" male-oriented. Petty as these things are they reveal the class background and distinction that operate in us.

Seeing how eager most of the women were to break down to small groups, comforted those of us who felt that the alienation experienced was our individual hangup and made possible articulating some of the things that separate us. Many of us shared the doubt about the purposes of our papers and the related problem of who we address ourselves to. Are we trying to raise consciousness within the movement or are we trying to reach out to non-movement sisters? The question of constituency led into the discussion on class which in some instances

released an unexpected hostility. For example, in one group middle class women felt attacked by a woman who strongly identified herself as working class. It turned out to be extremely difficult for the middle class women to understand the mistrust that had built up in the working class sister because of her many bad experiences of being fucked over and manipulated by middle and upper class women in Women's Liberation. Because of their privileges, middle class women have been able to articulate their own problems and rage assuming they were representing all their sisters. It was mainly their experiences that shaped the priorities and rhetoric of the Women's Movement. Bad feelings intensified in the group as the middle class women felt their sincerity doubted, maintaining the position that the oppression common to all women cancels out class differences. ["My parents may have been upper middle class but I never had any positive feelings of self worth." This countered by the working class woman with "but you could always feel superior to us."] Some gay women objected because they felt being women identified rids women of all male structure like class. Another kind of mistrust was expressed by women who are married and/or have children or both who've experienced condescension from single women. This especially affects working class women who find themselves with fewer options to lead the kind of life they want.

The discussion of class, in some groups, led to the question of who is the enemy: Capitalism or Male Supremacy? Is capitalism using and perpetuating male supremacy or is capitalism only a symptom of male supremacy? Defining the enemy sets priorities in our struggle and determines our allies which has an impact on how we see ourselves as women's media. How do we relate to the rest of the Movement? To third world organization as white people who have to deal with our racism and as women to those third world organizations that are male dominated? Confusion arose over the issue that these male dominated organizations include sisters who are fighting with their brothers for oppressed women and men. More over, these organizations are involved in a life and death struggle, thus creating priorities which relegate the struggle against sexism to the bottom of the list. Some women felt they no longer wanted to work with men because it drained their energy and diverted their attention from the Women's Struggle. Further on the spectrum, were women who felt that capitalism is a male created system and that the very struggle against it - analyses, strategies, are male defined and dominated.

Part of the confusion stems from the question: if we do take ourselves seriously by focusing all our energies on the struggle of women and not relating to the third world struggle have we then copped out of



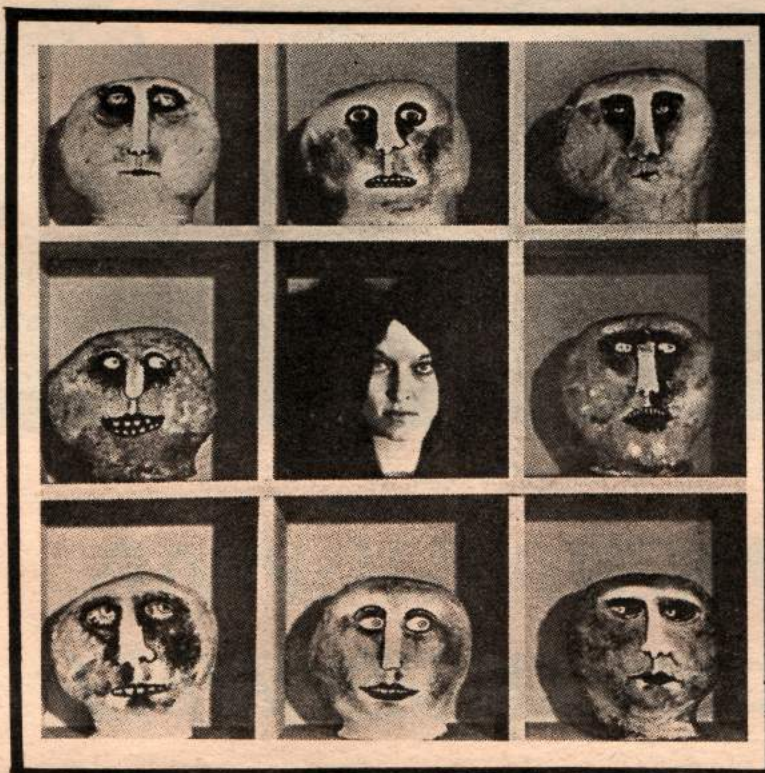
dealing with our racism? This whole question revolves around the need to define clearly our constituency which in most cases will limit what subjects we cover in our paper. Being consistent will make us a stronger force in the struggle and does not always necessarily mean that we withdraw our support.

Adding to the confusion was our not clarifying concepts like support and struggle. That all these differences came up indicates progress, but the spirit in which they were raised was a defensive and hostile one - an atmosphere that stifles and intimidates people rather than supporting a real learning process. An awareness that we operate on at least two different levels would perhaps help us in dealing with these issues. While we are capable of change and growth in consciousness we cannot completely root out the biases of sex, race, class that have been conditioned into us and which form part of our psychic makeup. Just acting on our seemingly good intentions without realizing where we and others are coming from is liberal and contributes to more misunderstandings. Another problem is how to reconcile the need to let out the hostilities stemming from class antagonism - with the need for developing greater sensitivity among women.

The issues which came up at the conference were not particular to this conference. They reflect real differences with the women's movement and probably within every women's collective, both working and living. The conference sharpened our awareness of how these issues, at times disguised as petty problems, function at RAT to drive us into largely artificial polarities, or into a state of powerlessness generating inertia. But in times of revolutionary change it is fucking hard to live and work by our vision. We must learn to share our confusions honestly and the process of struggle in theory and practice. We shouldn't be discouraged to realize that we are not pure, but try to be in touch with the polarities that exist within us. Before we can talk about unity we have to struggle with the differences such as class which separate us.

You left this morning,
accompanied by my last brave smile.
There will be silence to greet you
when you return again,
confident,
to spend your love
and sleep by my side
and then leave me in my compartment
until your loins next remind you
of my existence.
I will not have it!
Even my body begins to lock its doors
against you
so that mornings leave me
nursing the pain of a womb clenched
against desire.
Surely the pain of final loss
can be no worse than this -
better to lie alone, remembering
the curve of your lips
than lie beneath you while
my heart smothers
in silent screams.

by Kathy



news flash

Two women, Patricia McLean and Vivian Bogart, were apprehended as suspects in an alleged firebombing of the Royal National Bank at 28th St and 5th Avenue at 1:30 am Thursday December 10. In court the next day, bail was set at \$25,000 for Patricia McLean, and \$15,000 for Vivian Bogart.

As we go to press no indictment has been returned against them, except for possession of false identification against Vivian Bogart.

The December 20 celebrations organized by women across the United States are one part of a growing anti-imperialist women's movement.

At this time there are three large events being planned. One is the December 20 actions—like the Bail Fund House of Detention demonstration in NYC, the announcement of a Mme Binh health clinic in Washington, D.C.—which emphasize projects women will be working on in months to come, done in the name of solidarity with the Vietnamese.

Another is the March 8 International Women's Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., a march on the Pentagon. This was initiated by the Vietnamese themselves—they said they wanted demonstrations to tie in with the conference in Canada on March 24. American and Canadian women decided that it was also important to continue the tradition of International Women's Day in this country and that both could be done together. The international holiday around this demonstration will be extended to include March 6 and 7 as well. There will be problems getting a large number of women to Washington, D.C. and some women will want to hold solidarity demonstrations closer to home. But for women who want to come to Washington we should all work together to make sure that money problems and child-care problems do not hold them back. 50,000 women marching on the Pentagon. Outasight!

The third activity is the conference with Vietnamese and Cambodian women in Canada starting March 24. The idea of the conference between North American and Indochinese women was developed in conversations among North Vietnamese women, Women's Strike for Peace (WSP) and Voice of Women in Canada (VOW), an organization similar to WSP. The conference was to have been held in October 1970 but has been postponed until Spring 1971. This was necessary because of the amount of work involved on all sides in order to make the meeting happen the way everyone wanted it. A conference was held in Budapest between the Asian women and American women in October. At this time several things were decided. The March conference would be held in three Canadian cities, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver successively so that women from all regions of North America could go. The Asian women said they wanted to meet separately with their 'old friends' (WSP and VOW) and their 'new friends' (women in Third World groups, and in women's liberation). The constituencies represented will be divided approximately equally among Canadian women, Third World women, and white American women. Other than this, the content and the format of the conferences have not been decided upon. Women in the different regions who want to participate in the planning of the conference will draw up an agenda and women of different regions will decide who among them will go to the conference.

The Canadian women will take care of the arrangements for the Asian women while in Canada (travel, meals, lodging, etc.). The American women will raise the money for expenses. Since the USSR has agreed to pay for the round-trip from Moscow to Canada for the Asian women, this figure has been calculated to be about \$13,000 at this time (subject to change). So there is a lot of fund-raising to do. Minutes of meetings of the East Coast can be obtained through RAT.

Since the recent events in Quebec there have been disagreement over whether or not one of the conferences should be held in Montreal among the women in Montreal. Last week RAT received a letter from the FLF (Front de Liberation des Femmes) in Montreal:

DECEMBER 20

On December 20 we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the NLF and the birth of the U.S. women's anti-imperialist movement. It is fitting that this day be one of celebration for rather than demonstration against. Too often in the midst of the horrors and atrocities perpetrated by U.S. imperialism, we forget that we are not only trying to bring down a system but that we are also struggling for a new world, a new woman and a new man, a new life for all people. We must remember that revolution is a process which embodies within it the life force of a vision of a new world, a process which liberates our consciousness and affirms our humanity.

When we celebrate on December 20, we will be striking a blow at the forces of male supremacy and imperialism and proclaiming ourselves on the side of life and freedom with the Vietnamese and all other people struggling for control of their own lives. All anti-imperialist movements—from women's liberation to the Tupamaros, striking GM workers to the Red Guards, from Woodstock Nation to the Black Panther Party—contain within them the force of life which will ultimately defeat the death machine of imperialism.

A battle rages daily throughout the world, sometimes loudly as in Southeast Asia, at other times quietly as in a women's consciousness-raising group or the birth of a Cuban child. The contrast between the revolutionary process with its vision of a new world and the dying, old order can be seen all around us.

It is a Vietnamese woman with a gun, a book and a child or a B-52.

It is the Black Panther Party free breakfast program or the police bullets shot into Fred Hampton in his sleep.



It is the increasing harvests of China and Cuba or a bomb crater in North Vietnam.

It is that simple; it is the possibility of the future.

Women can play an important role in this battle. We know what we need—we want bread and roses, life and freedom. The woman's movement contains a spirit of sisterhood which has developed out of our awakening from the false consciousness of personal failing to the understanding that collectively we can struggle and win. This understanding is common to all people who are involved in a revolutionary process. Ours is a struggle of joy—we are liberating what is truly human in all of us, a spirit of cooperation and love, to replace the old forms which were determined by the needs of imperialism. Ours is a new need.

This is a time for rejoicing, not a time for tears. We will remember every needless death caused by U.S. imperialism—every Vietnamese, every malnourished child in Latin America, every industrial "accident," every woman on the illegal abortionist's table, every Black Panther—but our rage will not be a hollow outcry. It will be the energy behind the building of a new world, transformed through collective struggle for control of our lives. We will never forget Joe Hill's last words, sent to his followers the night before his execution: "Don't mourn—organize!"

BUFFALO WOMEN'S LIBERATION ANTI-IMPERIALIST WORK PROJECT

Hello!

It is time to clarify our position in face of the International conference of Anti-Imperialist women arranged for March.

We have decided not to participate there for the following reasons:

The majority of Quebecois were unanimously in agreement with the contents of the Manifesto of the FLQ. The legislature, seized by panic, had only one solution: repression. Many comrades are in prison. Two members of the Front de Liberation des Femmes have been imprisoned. The left has difficulty getting organized, and we did not know, moreover, how far the police offensive would go.

The War Measures Act is in force until April and we are convinced that the situation will not be favorable for such a conference.

We must now re-examine and re-orient our politics. The events have shown us to which point it is urgent for us to work primarily and above all with Quebecois. We are oppressed not only as women but also as Quebecois francophones (french-speaking), colonized by the Anglo-American capitalists. Our priority can be only to work with the mass of Quebecois women.

Moreover, in the climate of repression, it will be impossible to gather together a sufficient number of Quebecois in order to participate fully at the conference.

If such a conference is organized in Montreal by the English-Canadians, the Americans or representatives of any other ethnic minorities, we inevitably interpret this deed as another manifestation of colonialism which we undergo daily.

Besides, it is impossible for us to guarantee the security of the Vietnamese women. In reaction to the action of the FLQ, some neo-fascist groups have formed and have already announced some threats against some FLQ sympathizers.

We are, however, very conscious of the importance of this meeting. We hope that the Canadian government will permit the women of Third World countries to come to Toronto and Vancouver. If possible, several among us will come to Toronto so that we can talk together of the struggle we are waging.

We wish also to clarify our position in regards to Marlene Dixon and her friends. Marlene is a professor at McGill University (anglophone); she has neither appeared at Montreal Women's Libera-

10th ANNIVERSARY of the NLF

At this time it seems that one of the conferences will not be in Montreal. Far more serious are the antagonisms among different groups in Montreal. It is impossible for American women to support different factions at this time—in fact, it would be manipulative to do so—because we understand so little about Quebec. Hopefully, before too long women there will be able to struggle together.

All of the above mentioned activities are only highlights in a movement which is just starting but they can help provide a framework for out-reach work linking women's liberation to Third World struggles against American imperialism. Some projects started are a special supplement being printed by *Off Our Backs*, an educational packet with articles on the war, women in Third World struggles, etc., and the poster printed in RAT centerfold done by women in Boston. The educational packet will be circulated from group to group—women adding things to it—with information which will be helpful for speaking, writing leaflets, articles, etc. Poetry, songs and graphics should also be included. You can send things which you think might be helpful to *Off Our Backs* in Washington and you can get more information if you want to participate in any of these projects or are interested in starting something different from there.

NYC ANTI-IMPERIALIST

There will be a December 20 demonstration at the House of Detention at 2:00 p.m. A rally there will include speakers on the Prison system, the black community in NYC, and speakers from the Young Lords, I Wor Kuen and the Anti-Imperialist group. Leaflets advertising the demonstration can be obtained from YAWF (Youth against War and Fascism) at 46 W. 21st St. There will be a meeting at 339 Lafayette St. on Thursday, Dec. 17 at 6:30 to discuss the politics and tactics of the demonstration. Also, the Committee to Aid the NLF is planning a dinner and celebrations on that day—see ad in this issue.

A meeting of the New York City March 8 group will be held December 15, Tuesday, at 8:00 pm at the Tompkins Square Community Center, 9th St. and Ave. B, which is the day RAT comes out. If you are interested and miss the announcement you can call 982-4961 for a run-down on what's happening.

At this time a cohesive group in New York to work toward the March 24 conference in Canada is just getting started after two months of meetings of many different women in NYC. Women who want to participate either individually or as members of organizations should call Prue Greenblatt (924-2906) or Susan Holstrom (674-0050) to find out how to get in touch with other women who are forming this group.

tion or at the FLF in Quebec. She has lived here for a year and a half and she has never been able to communicate directly with us because she still doesn't speak French. She is not able to speak in any fashion in our name nor in that of any Quebecois (in Quebec, there are 85% francophones). We will be very happy to communicate regularly with you but without an intermediary. Our address is the following:

Front de Liberation des Femmes du Quebec
3694 Ste-Famille
Montreal
(514) 844-5838

We think that the best way to struggle with you and with the women of the world, is actually to direct all our energy to organize the liberation struggle of the Quebecois.

Vive le Quebec Libre!
Vive la lutte de liberation des femmes!
Front de Liberation des Femmes du Quebec

BUST

Three sisters and three brothers- Claudia Conine, Joyce Plecha, Sharon Krebs, Christopher Trenkle and Robin Palmer were captured by police acting from information supplied by at least one informer - Steve Weiner- in the early hours of Dec. 4th, outside the First National City Bank at 91st St. and Madison. The inditement read at their arraignment contained one count of conspiracy in the 2nd degree, one of attempt to commit arson in the 2nd degree, one of attempting to commit criminal mischief in the first degree, and four counts of possession of weapons and dangerous instruments and appliances.

These charges can bring a total of 11 years in jail for each of the defendants if found guilty. All except Robin Palmer had bail set at \$50,000. Robin's bail, probably because the DA wanted to pick him out as the leader in the alleged 'conspiracy', was set at \$250,000.

The straight media by sensationally reporting the system's charges and suspicions against the six (including Sharon Krebs's connection to Rat), played on people's hysteria and as usual succeeded in dehumanising the people they mentioned.

But we all know who the real inhuman monsters are, and we must learn from this experience to ensure that we lose no more of our own family to their prisons.

From this bust, and from the facts about all the other pig infiltrators we are learning, we must act on taking ourselves seriously immediately.

The last months frame-up in the Bronx, the outrageous prison sentences coming down in some states for 'conspiracy', and our growing awareness of how infiltrators work have brought us all closer together. However, while we must grow tighter, we must not at the same time make the mistake of slipping into useless paranoia. We must follow through efficiently with security checks (elsewhere in the paper we have suggestions for doing these checks), and learn to develop that heightened consciousness and awareness of each other that is grounded in love as is spoken about so beautifully in the new Weather statement. 'They' take us seriously, 'they' act from fear too- a hierarchical, rigid fear that can and must be met with all the flexible, subtle forms of collective solidarity and organization that we can develop.

The handling of this case by the D.A. makes it clear that the 'legal' system will support the people who 'own' and control property in this country. As can be seen from the inditement, no thought, let alone action, against 'their' possessions. The full count of attempt to commit criminal mischief in the first degree reads-

"The defendants... with the intent to damage the property of another person valued in excess of \$1500, and having no right to do so, and no reasonable grounds to believe that they had such a right, attempted to damage the First National City Bank at Madison Avenue and 91st St."

This charge of attempting to damage a building ('having no right to do so'), can bring several years in jail to the defendants.



pig

Where is the mechanism that can charge, and bring to justice, the people and the power structure that did not 'attempt to damage', but KILLED-

Fred Hampton

Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese people

Countless G.I.s

HAVING NO RIGHT TO DO SO.....

and maims at home and abroad millions more children, women and men-

HAVING NO RIGHT TO DO SO!

It is a hard and slow process to identify and attack the few rich villains, supported by their banker lackeys who wreak havoc on the world every hour of every day. The world is not theirs to possess or destroy. It belongs to us all and it must be taken back from these few and shared amongst us all.

NO MORE PRIVATE PROPERTY!

NO MORE BANKS!

NO MORE MONEY!

FREE THE PIGGY BANK 6!



The picture on this page is of Steve Weiner, the pig responsible for helping bust six people last week.

He now has a goatee and a mustache (add your own). He probably cannot be used around movement groups again, but we should still continue to find out about the way he worked, and raise each other's consciousness about who we should trust and work with.

Many of the people who remember him hanging around movement groups say now that they had suspicions about him but never checked him out thoroughly. He used to go to meetings and demonstrations, but never talked much, and though superficially friendly, never got really close with anyone.

If anyone can remember more about Steve Weiner or can provide leads- contact Rat : 228-4460, 4670.

Defense and support:

A defense committee, 'The Family Trust' has been formed and can be contacted through

245-3575,76

228-4460, 4670.

Mail Address: Family Trust
c/o Lubell, Lubell
Fine & Schaap
103 Park Ave.,
NYC, NY 10017

Send money, letters, books, newspapers, etc. to the above address, and contact the defense committee by phone or mail if you can help.

Wednesday, December 16th is Claudia's birthday. Come to a party in the street beginning at 6:30 pm, outside the Women's House of D on 6th Ave and 8th St.!! HAPPY BIRTHDAY CLAUDIA!!

December 10

The People are in Prison
A Message to the Women's Movement

Several times in the last few years I have given up hope. The hundreds of contradictions assailed me and the enormity of what I saw as our task overwhelmed me. The power of the state seemed total and our efforts appeared to be childish and irrelevant.

Good people were going to jail and even dying in a cause that increasingly filled me with doubt and uncertainties. Far away the National Liberation Front seemed to be fighting decisively and intelligently for something worth winning, but we here seemed to be floundering. If they were fish in water, we seemed to be goldfish in a bowl.

It's not that I had lost faith in the "people", it's that I didn't know where the people were and whether they had any knowledge or understanding of what needs to be done or why we seek to do it. Then I was busted and came to the Women's House. I think it's the most important thing that ever happened to me. Because the "people" are here — by definition. If they supported the order and its laws, they wouldn't have gotten here. The question is — who will they support when they get out?

The women behind bars are, first of all, stronger than portrayed in any Woman's Liberation propaganda. They sing, they rail at the guards, they can be hilariously funny, and they have worked out totally female, macho-less ways of thwarting the power of the authorities.

Primarily they counteract the authoritarianism of the guards by treating each other with dignity and respect, in a way that movement people have never learned. They don't borrow a pin or a match from one another without courteously asking for permission first. And that is because they have enormous respect for each other as capable human beings who can "deal" with those who become their enemies. In the movement, people sloppily shit all over each other, showing that they regard themselves and everyone else as just impotent punks. Here, everyone knows that each one of these women is tough — or she wouldn't be here, and, being here, could not survive.

Here they sit, busted for dope, for petty and grand larceny, for homicide and for just being on the wrong side of landlords, boyfriends, and clerks. They are shunted around, stripped and searched, locked by two's in tiny, maximum security cells 20 hours a day. They are fed Laddie Boy, poisonous tunafish, decaying meat, powdered milk and mountains of potatoes. They never see fresh vegetables or fruit except through the windows, if their cells have a view of Greenwich Square.

Most of them have been here for awhile, unable to pay the ransom the judges arbitrarily set as bail. They return to court regularly, waiting for hours to see a judge, hoping for bail reductions. Scratched into the wall of one of the bull pens at 100 Centre Street, this message: "My bail is \$1000. for \$17." My friend, L, down the corridor, said yesterday, "We live in B corridor, that means we be here when they come and we be here when they go."

"They" generally refers to the "hoes" who flit in and out of the Women's House like birds of paradise, busted on the "hoe stroll" one night, bailed out by their "daddies" the next, and back on the hoe stroll the night after, sometimes not in long enough to lose their pencilled eyebrows.

And the rest try to keep themselves together, hoping for mail, for visitors, and for luck to be visited upon their

One of the ways the man fucks us over is by giving us privilege. All of us who are white and middle-class have shared the sense of hopelessness that Sharon talks about in her letter. It is ironic that now, in an institution designed to crush her spirit, she is filled with hope and determination about the struggle.

The women's movement is beginning to try to reach out across class lines. Sharon, Claudia and Joyce can provide invaluable insights to all of us about the nature of class divisions. But just as they count on us for support in their legal struggles and their physical isolation, so we must count on them not to romanticize the experience.

We must all learn from these letters, and pledge ourselves to continue to develop the important dialogue begun here. We must bridge the isolations that still exist between each other, so that no-one else need act from desperation.

The women's movement did fail you, Sharon, Claudia and Joyce, and it failed every woman inside every jail. But we can still learn and grow from our mistakes, and hope you can share in that belief with us.

POWER TO ALL THE BEAUTIFUL SISTERS IN THE HOUSE OF D! We grow from your loving to a new consciousness of the tasks that lie ahead.

incompetent legal aid lawyers. Meanwhile they work out ways of communicating between floors, seeing their friends in different parts of the building and keeping up with relevant news from inside and outside.

The night of the N.J. oil refinery bombing the guards were visibly shaken. They had seen the fireball from here and had reason to take it personally. They told us "something is happening and you'll surely find out about it tomorrow." We did.

Yesterday we learned that S has just come back to her floor from 10 days in a bare strip cell, after being beaten by 5 male guards and thrown in there naked and handcuffed.

People here fondly remember Afeni and Joan. There are still signs of their organizing work. They even remember us out on the street below.

Everyone knows of Angela. All 750 women know her and they say her name with a certain amount of awe. "Did you see Angela today?" They are hoping she wins her extradition fight. Firstly, because they know it will go badly for her in California, and secondly because they all love her and learn from her. She is a shining example of black womanhood, kind, intelligent, strong and righteous. She conducts exercise classes, loans out her many good books and presses everyone to follow her example in fighting for all their rights with her. Each woman knows that she could be an Angela Davis.

As white movement women we are often asked if we are hippies, if we are going home tomorrow, and if we would "bomb" certain favorite targets after we get out. We are a combination of children and superwomen. They watch us stand on our heads, practice karate and run around the roof.

Nobody sees us cry, nobody ever hears us beg, and every day we become more useful to the women among whom we are privileged to live. We help them with our white-collar skills, spelling words for letter-writers, addressing envelopes, writing petitions — and requests for the semi-literate, and teaching what we know to all who ask. At present a book is being written about life in the Woman's House by my friend P and I am copy-editing it. (P can't spell worth a damn, but she sure can write) and slowly smuggling it out of here.

Claudia, Joyce and I hope that the women's movement in New York will devote itself to improving the abysmal conditions in the Women's House. It is not a liberal issue — in a way, it's very self-serving, since most of us will be here sooner or later. Bailing out a few hoies is a kind gesture, but putting creative and forceful womanpower to the enormous task of taking care of our sisters and ourselves is a primary need. Those motherfuckers in the mayor's offices must be forced to provide us with medicine, competent doctors, proper diets, vitamins, and humane treatment. We three and more dedicate ourselves to working for this from within and without.

Piggy Bank

6

Letter from Sharon Claudia and Joyce received 12/10 from House of D.

This is the year of the jail.

The pigs haven't arrested the revolution. They only get the lightweights — Esso Oil goes up in flames the night the jail doors slam on us. That's proof enough — There is growing that competent guerrilla force to destroy the blood-drenched war machine.

The first day in jail Angela Davis gave us Alexander Berkman's prison diary — Berkman's a Russian anarchist, shot at the robber Baron Fisk — and missed — The end of the second chapter said, "Have I failed? Failed!" We felt so STUPID. NEVER work with people you don't KNOW and LOVE — Love is the key. To be anxious, is to be foolish.

Please, our beautiful sisters and brothers LEARN this time — Don't let the foolish 6 go to waste — learn that words and actions are only 2/3 of where it's at. EMOTION — that purported realm of the female is the final 1/3. Feelings — use them — develop them — The people to work with are in your heart — Don't just fill jobs no matter how simple — This isn't IBM. Nothing happens overnight — except a useless arrest.

The next thing is — informer pigs are not afraid of retaliation — All of us should be subject to being questioned — no one is exempt. If you suspect someone throw them up against the wall — We don't mean this figuratively, DO IT. We have to scare the shit out of them and more — We are fighting a war, the struggle is too advanced for a flower child attitude — If we are liberal we'll lose. It's about time we learned our faults and understood our weaknesses.

We love more each day,
Joyce, Claudia, Sharon



rat
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When Jack Weatherford came to court in July 1970, he was probably the best like and most trusted person in the movement in South Carolina. He testified that his job for the previous year had been to infiltrate and report on radical political activities in the state. At the time of his testimony, he had just been accepted as a special applicant to the Venceremos Brigade. He had applied late (probably for the FBI) and had passed special screening by people in Atlanta and New York.

For me it was an extraordinary betrayal, mingling personal with political treachery. Jack had been one of my closest friends for a year. He had first played country music for me, taught me about Southern foods, even pretended I was his wife so that we could both visit his brother in jail.

His testimony in that trial resulted in a conviction and an 18 month sentence. His investigations may have helped convict 3 coffeehouse operators as "public nuisances"; they are appealing 6 year sentences. At least ten more of us face possible maximum sentences of 15 years each, rising from a university incident he helped provoke.



Columbia, South Carolina could be Anytown, Amerika. It has about 100,000 inhabitants. The black poor live in pockets sprinkled through the city, many on dirt roads without any municipal services like sewage or trash collection. The white poor tend to cluster near the mills, which are non-union and horribly oppressive. The mill owners and moneyed people manipulate the racism of the whites for their own ends. There are vestiges of the Klan, and violence is always near the surface. There is no liberal tradition.

Columbia sees itself as a cosmopolitan center in a country of rednecks — people so oppressed that they can't comprehend their oppression. Columbia is the state capital. Besides the state legislature, it harbors the state university and Fort Jackson, a major military installation and an economic pillar of the town.

Columbia, and places like it all over the country, supply the bodies to execute the Man's imperialism. Men volunteer to go into the Army (though not as much as before the Indochinese War) out of duty and boredom and lack of other possibilities, and their women, wives and mothers, proudly display gaudy, sentimental silk kerchiefs embroidered 'MOM' and 'When I die I'm sure to go to Heaven 'cause I served my time in Viet Nam.'

Those kind of rednecks make up Jack's people. Because he's gone to college, he's a step above them, and he knows it. He is also more sophisticated. He is opposed to the war, and (now) describes himself politically as a liberal. He had relatives among the people who overturned the schoolbuses in Lamar, South Carolina last spring as a protest against integration.

Weatherford is the oldest of a poor, white, South Carolina army family. He worked his way through college in 3 years, always fearing his dad would be killed in Viet Nam and the burden of supporting the other kids would be on him. He was the first in his family to get a BA. After college he served 6 months in the National Guard, married, made a downpayment on a house, went to work for the State Department of Mental Health.

In January '69, Jack went to the Nixon counter-inaugural, apparently at the height of his dissatisfaction with electoral politics. Shortly thereafter, he split with his wife, began several relationships with men, and got very involved with dope. Then his brother David was arrested with another boy for attempted robbery. The other boy's parents had money; he was released with a suspended sentence. David was held 180 days in pre-trial confinement, because he could not raise bail, then given one to 8 years. Jack claimed that injustice completed his radicalization. I found it all quite convincing.



P. 20

We later discovered that sometime during David's arrest and trial, Jack became friendly with Columbia's SuperNarc, and they began a relationship.

Early in the summer of '69, Weatherford was busted for selling acid. The bust became the critical lever in the making of the pig. It is standard procedure to offer a deal — no prosecution in exchange for informing. But Jack got a special offer. The State Law Enforcement Division would hire him to be an undercover agent; they would not prosecute him or the friend he was busted with; they would pay his tuition so that he could build his grade point average for graduate school. They might have used David, already in prison and so completely under their control, as additional pressure. They could have threatened to move David to a less desirable prison, to take away his privileges and/or put him in solitary confinement. They might not have needed any threats.

Weatherford was bored with his old job; he desperately wants the security of a PhD. Too, his field was sociology and this seemed an interesting way to really learn the objective truth about political radicals, he later told me.

Weatherford had perfect qualification for his new role. Because he was covertly homosexual, he had had much practice hiding an important part of his life. He was from the area; people trusted him; his background story was believable. Under other circumstances he might easily have become a radical.

The pigs played on his chauvinism. He could exercise a kind of fatherly responsibility over the lives of innocent and vulnerable people, they told him. His main assignment was to "get Bursey" a local movement brother who had had the audacity to burn the Confederate flag publicly as a protest against racism some months before. In addition, he could help bust the pushers who were ruining people's lives with dope, and perhaps counter the growing radical movement on campus. They promised never to make him testify against or participate in the arrest of a person he knew.



agent weatherford



In some ways, Jack represents to me what it would mean to be crazy. His life seems a study in disintegration categorized in little boxes which do not go together. Being an agent was just one particularly destructive box. My understanding of his pigdom now, is as an expression of confused self-hatred — the kind of self-hatred which can come from internalizing oppressor's values. One of his techniques of survival was to develop a very 'together' facade, to repress all the contradictions in his life which might hurt him.



The fundamental contradiction was of course political. In one box he kept all that he knew about the 'problems' of Amerika; his family's poverty, the injustice done to David, rampant racism, the War. In another, he kept his belief that with enough school degrees and property he could make a good life for himself.

Similarly with his sexuality. He kept his involvements with men secret and separate from his more acceptable relationships with women.

His participation in dope culture is an even better example. Although he was engaged in a moral crusade against dope, he was very much a part of the dope world, sometimes tripping 4 or 5 times a week. At one point a close friend and fellow doper worried that Jack would completely flip out he was so heavily into drugs. Around me, however, Jack talked about how destructive drugs like acid and mescaline and feared they could destroy a person's spirit.

I was opposed to drugs for political reasons — I thought they provided an excuse for political busts. Weatherford agreed with that position and may have saved me from a set-up bust. It is ironic, to say the least, that Jack may well have saved me from a dope bust out of friendship, and set me up (by provocation) on political charges out of duty.

Sometimes the contradiction merged on simple hypocrisy, however. As when the city narcs were having a race with the county narcs about making the most dope busts, and Weatherford helped set up several 'grass' busts for his lover in the county division.

If we had known about the contradictions, we might have been alert to the more serious tip-offs that he was an agent. I feel that during many of the first months he was infiltrating us he was moved by much of our analysis. But he was not involved in any sort of consciousness raising; in that time he never made the vital connections between 'abstract' politics and his life.

I remember a conversation we had immediately after Christmas last year, when Jack talked about how useless political effort was, how we should all give up. I was struck at the time by a particular desperation in his voice. I remember the conversation well because it was the last of a series of good conversations we had had through the fall. Although we spent some time together through the winter and spring, we were never again so close. Then I attributed it to increased pressure from external political events. Now I wonder if that conversation (he disappeared to the beach for several days after) marked a turning point. If he had come almost to believe in our radical politics, and had become almost too fond of us to continue being dishonest, he might have had to move our box farther away from his feelings to continue his job.

It is tantalizing to think how close we might have come to converting Weatherford. I tend to believe, if he had been a woman attending consciousness raising all fall we would have won him over. The idea is not far fetched; 4 men who had originally gone to the UFO coffeehouse as agents for Military Intelligence came forward to testify for the defense. On a main street where merchants went out of their way to bilk soldiers, the coffeehouse had been remarkably non-exploitative and the concern and commitment of the coffeehouse folks had won them over.

Little From our Friends



After his bust in July, Weatherford did discrete dope busts all summer. He registered at the university in the fall, and then became co-chairman of the local SSOC/SDS group. He seemed really tied into the spirit of the group; he wasn't interested in running things, or being a star; he was always around doing shitwork and talking to people. People respected him; he (accidentally?) recruited some really good people to the movement. He also played on the doubts of the alienated. He helped convince one guy to drop out of school, politics, and our commune.

In January, city, county, and state pigs (probably with federal encouragement) busted the coffeehouse. They arrested the operators, padlocked the door. It was such clear repression that all "fairminded" people in Columbia were outraged. For the next few months most political energy went into defense and efforts to reopen a shop. Jack wasn't very involved with that, although he became very fond of some folks from Boston who came down to help in the emergency. He even asked one woman to stay and live with him.

At the end of 'End the Draft Week,' Weatherford took part in a draftboard trashing. Four guys threw a brick and a can of paint thru the draftboard window. The following day, Jack was arrested with Bursey, the brother he's been sent to get, at the university. The pigs clearly knew exactly what had happened within hours after the action. It was scary, and we were all somewhat shaken. We decided another of the four-some (who wasn't arrested) was an agent (he may well be).

Immediately after Jack's arrest for the draft board action, David was thrown into solitary confinement. It was just at the time he should have been coming eligible for parole. Fifteen days later he was moved to a different prison and released (as it turned out) on special orders direct from the governor. David did not go through the ordinary pre-release procedures.



By the beginning of May the campus was tense. Students had seen 'John Doe' warrants with names to be filled in after dope busts state legislators were pressing the school to keep GI's and longhairs out of the student union; the coffeehouse trial had just ended with 6 year sentences and \$5000 fines. Nixon's Cambodian invasion was a last straw. There were explosive rally and a sit-in; the National Guard was called on campus. Finally, during a rally before university disciplinary hearings, people occupied the Administration Building and trashed the treasurer's office. Weatherford was a major voice urging people to take the building and trash the IBM cards. Damage was not very extensive. The university replaced the cards within a few days.

A film picked up by national TV showed Jack and Walker (the woman he lives with) climbing out a window of the administration building. There followed a series of almost random arrests. I was pick up; Jack wasn't.

After the university explosion I saw little of them. Jack seemed somewhat edgy around me. His talk now was constantly that we needed to change people not systems. Whenever we talked about my upcoming trial he advised me to split. 'They' were sure to get people this time, he said, and we both knew how bad the prison's were from David's experience.

He applied to go to Cuba and was accepted but didn't go at Walker's request. Then in mid-July he was called out of class unexpectedly and put on the stand to convict one of the other participants in the draft board trashing. There is some evidence that he was called to testify as a kind of petty recrimination because he had refused an assignment to do an investigation of a 'homosexual ring' at the university.

When we first learned of Jack's double role, he took on an aura of SuperPig. There had been few discrepancies in his background, none in his finances. His discovery was largely a fluke? if he had been in Cuba, he might have returned with excellent movement credentials and done more damage.

After he surfaced some of us went to talk with him. We took a lawyer with us because we were apprehensive about talking to the Man — even if he was your friend. Most of what Jack said was standard liberal talk. He saw himself as being responsible for saving the country from the violence of a few wild-eyed crazies and the destruction and chaos they could create. He knew I was sincere, he told me, but so were the fanatics on the other on the other end of the political spectrum. When I said to him, "Jack, you may send me to jail for several years", he responded, that perhaps jail would do me good.

He believes the country has problems and that we need change. But it musn't come so fast as to challenge the existing order, at least not before there is an alternative system which is just as workable as the old. After all, he said, we do have the best, most stable and most equitable system of government the world has ever seen.

Too, he said, being an undercover agent is a disagreeable task, but in times like these, when the orderly fabric of Our Nation is threatened, someone must do it. Better to have a liberal than a facist pig. Liberals have enough integrity not to plant dope on us; but not enough to miss the excitement of a provocateur.

The shock of his discovery brought our community closer together. We consciously fought the inevitable paranoia that came with the shock. We knew suspicion is the Man's game, that if we let ourselves be divided by Jack's discovery, we would be letting him do yet more destruction to our community. We came together to talk about Jack; we talked in pairs and groups.

As we talked we found chinks in his story. Perhaps the most serious was that he had been busted on a serious charge (selling acid) and not brought to trial (a sure give-away that he was an informer, at least). His cover had been that he was coming up next session of court. After several sessions we should have been curious. Also, although Jack had served 6 months active duty in the National Guard, he never attended weekend reserve meetings after his bust. He claimed his drug arrest made him unfit for service, but as he had never been convicted, that was clearly not the truth. Too, David was released from prison without going through the ordinary pre-release procedure. Our ignorance of the workings of the prison system hurt us.



In terms of simple security measures, we should work out what things we can say over the phone, in houses and in offices. We should code address books we carry with us (any code will do) and not carry more information than we need. Above all, when there is suspicion we've got to check it out. Try to ask as many factual questions as possible. Ask the suspect verbally (instead of using a form) and record answers. *Ramparts* magazine lists a sample series of security questions in its Dec. 1970 issue:

Military history is easy to check out; Selective Service Reg. 1606.32(a)(1) gives any person with written authority (signed and dated) of the registrant the right to examine the file. Insist on that permission and check it out. Also look at suspect's draft card.

* Check out car ownership and driving record. Ask for a description of last 2 cars, with names of legal and registered owners and license plate numbers. Most State Dept. of Motor Vehicles will release individual drivers records and car ownership information for a small fee.

* Question past marriages, divorces or separations with dates and locations. Also births of children, civil or criminal court actions and any traffic tickets. Clerk's offices of superior, municipal, small claims and traffic courts have last name indexes and files for all criminal, civil, divorce, and traffic cases.

* Ask to see financial records: bank or check books, etc. Any merchant who subscribes to a credit bureau can get information on anyone who's ever bought anything on credit.

* Ask about health stuff, particularly hospitalizations, visits to doctors, medications. It can be checked out easily through movement doctors who have easy access to nearly all medical records.

* Standard information about last 4 schools attended, last 4 or 5 jobs (place, date of employment, kind of job and reason for leaving) can be checked by phone calls and letters.

* There are good sources for address information: check out suspect's former addresses as well as those of parents, stepparents; R.L. Polk Co. publishes a *City Directory* in 3 sections. First is an alphabetized lists of heads of households usually husbands name, but including spouse's job, employer and address. Section 2 is indexed by street address and Sect. 3 by telephone number. Haines Co.'s *Addressakey* is similar but usually more geographically complete both are available in libraries. Also county assessor's offices have complete listings of all real estate owners.

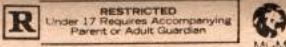


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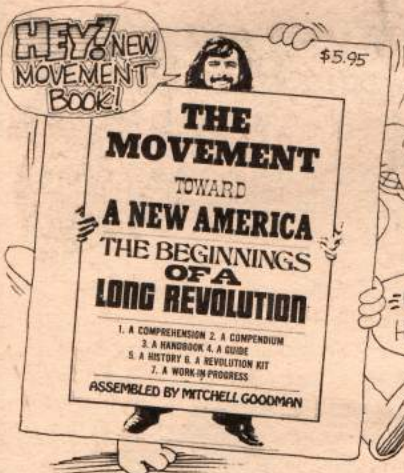
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Page 22



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The Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention will be held at Howard University in Wash. DC Nov. 27-29

P. 23

The Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention was called by the Black Panther Party for November 27-29 in Washington D.C. and people from all over the country came. At the last minute James Cheek, President of Howard University refused to allow the people to use the buildings at Howard for the Convention. Cheek had agreed to rent facilities at Howard to the Black Panther Party with a \$1,000 deposit and the balance of \$7,000 to be paid later. When Cheek received the deposit, he wanted all of the money in one payment by Tuesday morning and denied the Panthers the space. All Souls Church and Saint Stephens Church were used as a last minute substitute, but their facilities were inadequate for holding the workshops and larger assembly meeting. The women also had a center at Trinity

College, a Catholic Women's College, where space for workshops, meetings, and sleeping was provided.

Women of Liberation News Service in New York City went to the convention unclear about what to expect. They returned with new questions, and the realization that these questions are a long way from being resolved. The women of Rat who went to the convention returned with many of these same questions and confusions. Because we were in an anti-imperialism work meeting Saturday we missed much of the women's plenary that afternoon at Trinity College. Women who have definite ideas about what was happening among women there, please write to us.

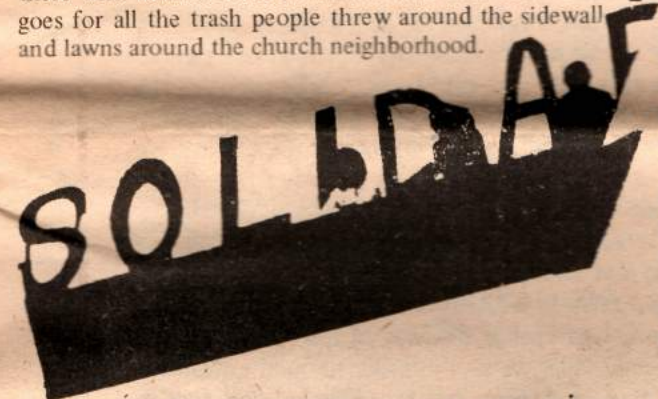
The following discussion focuses on three LNS women's experiences at the Convention:

BARBARA: Friday night on the way to St. Stephens Church we met a lot of movement people we knew who seemed to be wandering around—they told us that the agenda we were looking for wasn't there. Sure enough, when we got there, there wasn't any agenda—so we went back to All Souls Church to register.

SALLY: But when we got there registration had closed so we went to eat at a fried chicken place. And at dinner we ran into other problems—of white people being in a Black community and being very unconscious of that while they were there.

Black people lined up behind us to eat. And we were sitting at the counter laughing and talking and we didn't even realize that those people were there until we turned around and they said, "We've been waiting here for 45 minutes."

KAREN: I think it's typical of the situation over the weekend that while we were sitting there talking about the revolution we didn't even bother to think that there was a whole room full of Black people who regularly ate there who wanted to sit down and have their meal. Same goes for all the trash people threw around the sidewalk and lawns around the church neighborhood.



BARBARA: Then we walked over to the rally and the first nice thing happened. We met some women who told us that there were lots of women rapping at the women's center at Trinity College. They told us to go over there. At the rally, nothing happened for a long time and then, finally, the Panther band, "The Lumpen", played. We started dancing and singing songs and continued to wonder when the convention would start. A lot of gay women and men danced in a snake dance and shouted, "Ho, Ho, Homosexual, the ruling class is ineffectual."

SALLY: Big Man (New Haven Black Panther Party) spoke finally and said we were all supposed to go to St. Stephens Church at 9 in the morning. He intimated that it might be a good idea if some buildings could be liberated; he also said we were going to stay in Washington as much as five months to have the convention. We all stared at each other in disbelief because we knew we weren't going to do that. The implication was that we whites were to liberate Howard, a Black school. That would have been political disaster.

BARBARA: I finally got over to the women's center after the rally. The atmosphere was a cheerful change. People were sitting around on sleeping bags, rapping and getting to know each other. Some women were hanging around a literature table, and others poured themselves coffee and tea, and made sandwiches in one corner of a huge meeting room. It would have been pleasant and politically productive as well to have continued the evening that way; or perhaps to have broken into small random groups to find out where other people were coming from.

Instead people decided to have a meeting to discuss "What to do about the Convention." I knew there was going to be trouble. Most of us bitterly remembered Huey's preamble in Philadelphia where he never mentioned womankind—just mankind. Lots of us are turned

off to calling Huey the "Supreme Commander" remembered that women had been promised a lesbian speaker at the final meeting in Philadelphia, and that that speaker had never materialized. Some women felt we should not be part of the convention at all, should simply have a women's conference. Though most of us agreed with criticisms of the Panthers, still we had come to Washington to help write the Revolutionary People's Constitution and we did want to show our support for the Panthers. Most of us were planning to go to the church the next day as Big Man requested and see what could be done to pull the weekend together.

Finally, it was decided that those who wanted to go to the church would and those who wanted to stay at the women's center would do that. Next morning most of us went to St. Stephens church.

SALLY: When we got there in the morning, there was nothing to do—people were just wandering around. Black and Brown people were signing up for community organizing and leafletting but it was hard to figure out how whites were supposed to do that in the middle of a Black community in a strange town. Nothing else was scheduled until five that afternoon, when according to a leaflet the constitution would be read. That seemed kind of weird to me—I thought we were supposed to be writing the constitution. We went back to the women's center where people were breaking into workshops.

KAREN: When I got to the women's center in the afternoon, there were a number of workshops going on, as well as a lot of women milling around. There seemed to be no organized way to find out who was discussing what. I finally found Barbara at the imperialism workshop.

BARBARA: We were talking about specific actions women could take against imperialism which would pull out a lot of women and educate people—we had just split from a group who were into a more theoretical discussion about women and imperialism. People described their plans for celebrations around December 20, the 10th anniversary of the founding of the NLF, and a women's march against imperialism on International Women's Day.

KAREN: For me, the projects workshop was the best moment at the convention. I got a sense of women all around the country who are beginning to think about and plan concrete actions. In addition to the things that Barbara talked about, other people are doing work organizing women to go to the Canadian conference in March to meet with the Vietnamese women. Some women from Chicago have been working on plans for day care and medical facilities for women and children. Some women from Vermont are working on setting up a loan company for women.

The projects workshop was just gathering steam when someone came up to our group to announce that there was going to be a mass meeting to decide whether or not to try and liberate Trinity College and give it to the Panthers. On our way downstairs we thought about how groovy it would be to liberate Trinity—a ritzy Catholic girls school on a beautiful campus—which we had gotten only because the priests thought we were all harmless middle-class white girls.

There must have been close to 1000 women in the hall. I have never seen so many women in one place—it was an up, visually, to see throngs and throngs of us. But before most of us got any information at all about the feasibility of liberating Trinity, the discussion broke down with people shouting at each other and not letting each other speak.

Some women from Trinity tried to point out that the building was too small to hold all the people at the

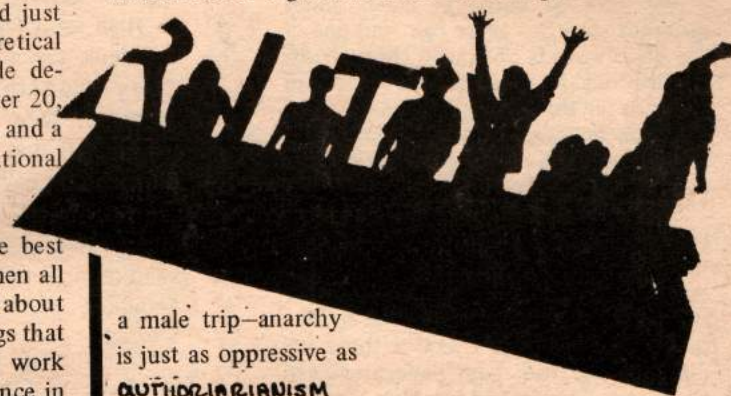


convention and that the Panthers had rejected it the night before. But other women felt that the Panthers might have changed their minds by now, since they hadn't been able to get any other building. This was one point where if the Panthers had sent someone over to talk to us we could have avoided a lot of hassle. But no Panthers ever came to the women's center all weekend.

BARBARA: But obviously the hostility wasn't just about tactics. Some women who were angry at the Panthers for all the reasons they laid out at the Friday night meeting didn't want to turn over the women's center to the Panthers, whether it was a practical action or not. And some women who felt committed to supporting the Panthers despite their fuck-ups weren't willing to listen to anything from these women, even perfectly logical reasons why taking the building wouldn't be cool—mainly, that it was too small.

SALLY: One depressing thing about the argument at Trinity was that so many women viewed it so much as turning the building over to the Panthers—not to the People's Convention. A Black sister pointed out that women tend to view the Panthers as the only group of third world revolutionaries. And then when we have disagreements with the Panthers the tendency is to feel at opposite poles from the whole third world liberation struggle.

KAREN: The meeting really brought out the political splits in our movement, but what was even more discouraging in a way was the total chaos and confusion and lack of discipline and organization. People screaming at each other, ignoring the chairwomen—it turned so many women off. The only way you could preserve any sanity was to completely retreat from the discussion. A whole lot of people left. I don't think our movement can survive too many more meetings like that. We've got to get ourselves together and provide structures for organization and leadership, and that's not



a male trip—anarchy
is just as oppressive as
AUTHORITARIANISM

SALLY: I know for a lot of people like me it was the first time we'd been in a national gathering of women. A lot of other women from the Midwest were there also. It was very discouraging for us that the meeting was so bad. The only good thing I can remember from that meeting was when one girl got up to speak and right in the middle of a political rap she saw a friend across the room and she got really excited and stopped in the middle of her speech and said, "Hello!" Everybody in the room just roared laughing because something had finally broken the tension. I know that a number of women from the Midwest were so totally discouraged they wanted to leave and not come back. They just wanted to go back to their own cities where they had organizations built up that they knew and could work with, because they felt that it is just impossible to work in this kind of situation.

We couldn't even get a resolution passed in support of the Panthers and other revolutionary people gathered in Washington, even though most of the women really did want to express their support. If we'd been more organized we could have gotten the resolution written

CONT. ON P. 27

BLAST

LINDEN, N.J. — Once its smokestacks poured oceans of rolling black chemical smoke into New Jersey's air, smoke made from the cracking of oil that Standard Oil sucks out of Venezuela. Now the Bayway Refinery (how much of its crude oil fuels B-52s over Vietnam and Laos) is a twisted square of shattered metal, charred vehicles and broken, iced-over pipelines.

The explosion December 6 broke windows as far as 40 miles away. In neighboring Elizabeth so many windows were gone that full-scale looting occupied the police all night long. Linden

itself is a small town about ten miles from New York City, tucked inside a polluted inlet behind Staten Island. The night sky turned to day in the whole area as 1000-foot flames engulfed the Humble Oil and Refining Co. plant (Humble is a subsidiary of the Rockefeller-owned Standard Oil of New Jersey, which markets ESSO products.)

Several million dollars damage was done to the refinery, one of the company's six largest plants. Hundreds of thousands of dollars in damage were done to homes in the area of the blast.

The Linden Bayway plant is the kind of atrocity that inspires sabotage. But it is still a very open question whether the blast, which injured 38 people, was an act of anti-imperialist sabotage, or a dangerous accident for which Standard Oil is responsible.

Linden's Mayor John T. Gregorio says, "We're definitely thinking along the lines that it was sabotage." Local police have so far presented two pieces of "evidence" to that effect — verified reports that a helicopter was flying over the refinery just before the explosion, and an alleged telephone call to police headquarters two hours before.

According to the police, the caller warned in a drawing voice that the refinery was going to go up, and "Burn, baby, burn!" The rhetoric of the supposed call, which was said to have ended "Get it, pig?" sounds like a line from a Grade B movie. Skeptical reporters asked the chief if his department has received many such calls which would be recorded similarly on the headquarters' new incoming call recording system. "No", he said, "we actually haven't taped any other calls. This new system has been in effect for three months."

The helicopter clue doesn't sound much more conclusive. The craft, silver with an orange stripe, was probably an innocent passer-by. It looked "like a cargo helicopter," a witness said. But even if the helicopter did do something to cause the blast, the question of the sabotage being done by radicals is still unanswered. Standard Oil says that doing a job on a refinery requires some very technical knowledge; besides, who on our side has a helicopter?

No acknowledged revolutionary group has taken credit for this instance of "material damage" to imperialism. A New York radio station got a call shortly after the blast from a group that claimed they had blown up the refinery. WINS said the group called itself the United Revolutionary Socialist Front. No one has ever heard of it.

The FBI has already been called into the investigation, presumably on the assumption that sabotage has been done. You can be sure that they'll come up with something or someone; but it probably won't be that the Standard Oil Company had spent \$1.49 on a cheap safety valve when they could have bought a better one for \$1.98.



Dear RAT Collective:

You have an exemplary way of publishing critical letters. But I think you're really getting better. The Nov. 17 issue is so good. I do agree with some of the criticism in Kathryn's letter, but I think you're dealing with it. Most of the articles are so useful, about welfare, the rent strike technique, the story of the struggle at GW High School. This really relates to New York, to the community. I really don't think that articles about the Panthers, Lords, or the Quebec Liberation Front should be objected to because they aren't primarily 'women's issues.' Good Lord, we have to know what's happening behind all the news stories, on all the fronts, the media isn't going to tell us. How can women, at the very moment of busting out, becoming people in the world, instead of limited, want to go back in again to some closed circle? Sure, we have to stick together, but we don't have to be dumb. One of the classic replies of males to a political comment by women has been, 'But, darlin', you just know what's going on in the world. You simply don't understand the complexity of the situation.' Which means, shut up, you can't think, just cook.

We have to know as much about different struggles as we can, and one of the basic ways is obviously through our publications. I have a mind and I am not going to let that mind, whatever caliber it is, be defined by other women any more than men. Why move from one form of psychic oppression to another?

As I say, I really think you're getting better. In Kathryn's letter, she objects to some of your style, which she calls 'moralism.' I would simply call it dreary rhetoric, which is a problem all revolutionaries have always had. I think it's disappearing from your paper, replaced by better writing and analysis. One of the things I have objected to is the repeated phrase 'the pain, agony and despair' of all women. This is my own reaction, which may be an exception, but: it brings up a picture of women as some sort of eternally suffering creature I don't want to be identified with. I feel oppressed by outward conditions, but inwardly I can be a spectrum of things, which have to do with being happy, creative, mean at times, witty at others, and I resent an implication that my whole identity is based on pain, crying, agony. It is too weak!!! It's too narrow. Certainly I have respected the individual articles which elucidated the difficulty of going through a head change, and the pain and agony of it, but to use this as a repetitious phrase banalizes it and, as I say, turns me off more than it turns me on.

Best wishes,
Ellen

Dear Rat

Formal Tracking begins around the 6th grade when the "smart" kids (who come from homes where book learning is a good thing) - middle class - are separated from the "dumb" kids (who come from homes where there are no books or where reading is not encouraged) - poor, working class. In junior high the "smart" middle class kids begin to take college prep courses while the poor "dumb" kids take business or technical courses. This separation becomes more obvious in high school when kids know that they've been placed in an A-track, C-track, or F-track. The major thing that kids in college oriented courses learn is VOCABULARY and understanding written ideas, both of which increases *reading comprehension*. Learning in the A & B tracks is a competitive race to see who will get the highest grades and SAT scores.

Everyday experiences in high school are a microcosm (smaller version) of the oppression of women in our society. From being tracked, not only are women from poorer families convinced that they are stupid, but they are aware they are being led into their future dull jobs as secretaries and clerks (by their business courses), homemakers (by sewing and home economics), and as wives (by being encouraged and forced to escape from total boredom, alienation and oppression by fantasizing about how great marriage will be).

High school girls also have to deal with the same problems we in the women's movement are facing. They concretely experience and understand repression (why there is no free speech, press, or assembly and that radical teachers and students will be kicked out), power relationships (principal vs. the rest of the school, teachers vs. students, boys against girls), inadequate health information and services (about birth control, v.d., and abortion), and racism (how it divides people fighting for the same things).

Not only do high school girls identifying with the women's movement have to deal with the high schools, but also with pressures from their parents, with being made fun of by their old girl friends not into women's liberation, and with the oppressiveness of the women's movement itself. IMAGINE how you would feel if you had been kept back in grammar school, been in the C, D, or F track in high school and you had been told all your school life in all kinds of subtle and obvious ways that you were stupid. Then you heard about the ideas of women's liberation and got completely turned on. You then went to a women's movement meeting and literally did not understand what people were saying. All your old inferiority feelings would return. Feeling oppressed by other women, like you were oppressed in school, you would have to turn away from the women's movement in despair. Even though you knew the reasons that you didn't understand what people were saying was their problem, you would be too afraid of being put down to ask what the words meant and what the ideas were about.

Many women in the present women's liberation movement are college educated and have benefitted from tracking; they unknowingly intimidate and oppress other women. We're not talking about rhetoric here - we're talking about VOCABULARY - WORDS LIKE COHESIVENESS, PERPETUATE, OVERWHELMING, LEGITIMATE, INEVITABLY, DEFINITION, INITIATE AND TENDENCY. By not using ordinary words and *simple clear* ideas, many women's liberation groups have isolated out women who have been tracked and maybe dropped out of high school.

One of the ways in which people judge each other in this society is by how they talk. One can tell someone's class and educational background by the words they "don't" use and by their "incorrect" grammar. Instead of breaking down these barriers, we are contributing to them. Building a strong women's revolutionary movement requires sensitivity to where other women are at. Women who use the big words and know what they mean should be able to express them in ways that are simpler to understand. We've got to change our way of talking and writing (not only what we say) in order to build a women's liberation movement that can relate to and take in the experiences of all women.

POWER to UNVOCABULARIED WOMEN & all other sisters

Alternate U. is in a crisis!

That has been accelerated by the recent degeneration of A.U. into a crashpad.

This Wednesday, Dec. 16, at 7 PM, marathon meetings of the community will start to deal with the divisions that have stopped A.U. from functioning.

However, a self-appointed group, dominated by men, is trying to make this meeting into a "people's" tribunal at which 4 women will be accused: 3 of them, suspecting that A.U. money was being misused had put the money into a special account marked "A.U. Catalogue," are being accused of stealing and Lynn Laredo who has been fighting against sexism at A.U., of class chauvinism. These women should not have to justify their right-on action in such an oppressive framework. This recent development makes it highly doubtful what will happen to the women's demands that were accepted at the last community meeting. (Tuesday and Thursday to be Women's Night)

Door 3 to be used by women only - Men who take courses at A.U. to participate in men's consciousness groups.



Interview - cont'd from p. 8

deal with her problems and set up a concrete system so that we know what to expect, rather than bailing out 50 women at once.

Is there any way you plan to get inside the House to see the women?

If a woman inside has no relatives in New York, then we can be put on her visiting list. This could be arranged through letter communication.

How do you plan to raise the money?

We plan to sell literature which we ourselves have written. We also plan to do a lot of speaking. We also plan on using the media and any way we can get the word out. We hope that women in the women's movement will help us do this.

How will the women be chosen?

This problem hasn't been decided. A committee of women inside the jail possibly can be formed to decide who will come out. These women have been sentenced and would not be eligible because they are serving time. This would avoid competition for the bail money and these women could be more objective. We do feel that the decision should be made by the women in the jail.

When will the first woman be bailed out?

Probably within two weeks.

What will happen to the women once they get out? Will the Bail Fund continue to relate to the women once they get out of prison?

We have spent considerable time talking about this. We would like women to continue to relate to the project. We will encourage them to do so. We feel that one thing we do have in this society is the struggle. We want to get the women who come out interested in the struggle. We felt it necessary to have Third World women on the committee to perhaps find projects that the women could get involved in and that would be relevant to them. As far as housing, we are considering the idea of a building where the women could all live together, if they wanted to. Most of the women do not have families, do not have relatives and do not have places to go.

Do you plan to rap with the women about revolution? To what extent do you see this as an organizing project?

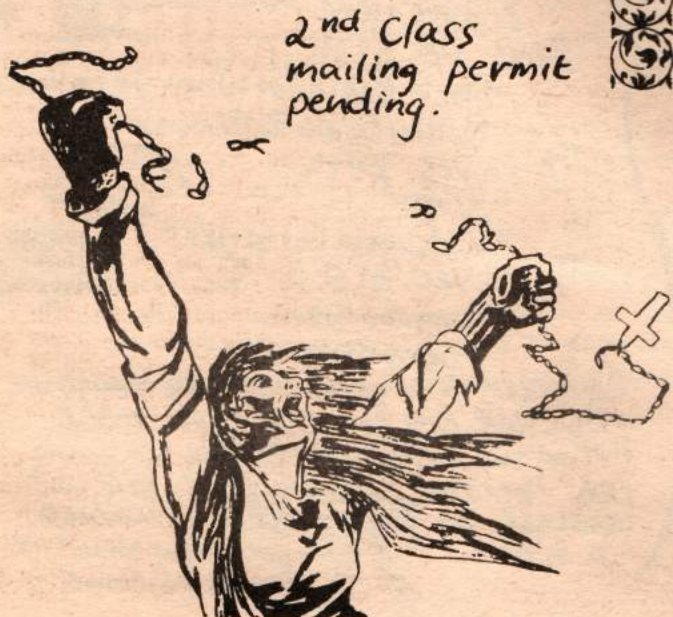
We see this as an organizing project only insofar as we would really like to have the women work with us. Although the women are aware of oppression on a gut level, we understand that their consciousness is not an articulated one. We feel that the real strength is in the struggle and we would really like the women to get involved with the struggle. We would try to talk to the women but not in a formal way.

Do you foresee any problem in bailing out drug addicts?

We feel that drugs harm women and we are against the use of drugs. However, it is difficult to tell a woman to stop. We plan to find women in the women's movement who have been addicts themselves and who know a lot about drugs and who are off drugs now who will stay with these women during the first week or so while she is going through withdrawal and who would know exactly what's going on when a woman really wants to get high and who would know how to deal with this.

But the Bail Fund is not into rehabilitating women?

Absolutely not. The problem is not the individual woman but the society. We want to emphasize that we want women to be in control of their own lives. We would not pressure a woman into anything. We want to be prepared as much as possible for all the possibilities and be prepared to provide for the woman's needs once she gets out.



House of D. cont'd from p. 9

only worthwhile aspect of the House of D. But human relations are not tolerated by the pigs, because it is easier to control people if they feel less than human and are not limited. After women are forced to live and sleep together, they are then punished for homosexual relationships. Even love letters between sisters are strictly forbidden: sisters are made to jump into the air and spread their legs wide apart so that any letters concealed in the vagina will fall out. Just as on the outside where relationships between a man and a woman are fucked up due to the economic dependency of the woman on the man, so too in prison the economic dependency of a sister is another factor which works to undermine sincere love relationships. The guards, too, play the sisters off against each other by rewarding some and punishing others, creating jealousy and competition.

By administering drugs, harassing and separating women who form close relationships, by keeping women economically dependent on charity, prison handouts, or more privileged inmates, the prison system tries to suppress any spark of spirit or rebellion and to infuse our sisters with feelings of despair, insignificance and powerlessness. WHAT IS "CRIME" IN PRESENT-DAY AMERIKA?

ALL CRIME IS POLITICAL. It is an attack on property and an attempt to redistribute it. Or it is a reaction to unbearable oppression. It is the expression of class antagonisms, not of individual ones. "The state is an instrument of the possessing class for its protection against the non-possessing one." (Engels) The possessing class makes laws in order to protect itself and its property against those who own nothing.

What do they, the few, own? The production plants, the bureaucracy, the centers of distribution (stores), the farms, the water, the forests, the land.

What do we, the people, own? The clothes on our backs; a few possessions in the house, and our ability to work. Merchandise bought on credit, the house or apartment, the car are all owned by the bank. The bosses even buy our labor power from us and determine how it shall be used - what we shall do with our bodies and minds each day.

And when we cannot get a job, we are forced into "crime". Why does Amerikan capitalism keep people out of jobs and poor, even when there is work that desperately needs doing or when everyone could work shorter hours instead? Because that wouldn't be as profitable. Poor people are necessary to the capitalist system: for undesirable, non-union, low-paying jobs; as strikebreakers; as an excess labor force for times of increased production (war); and as women we are doubly necessary to the system. Not only do we work at jobs, but we also do free work in the form of housework and raising children.

"CRIME" IS A RESULT OF A BASIC CONTRADICTION IN A SYSTEM WHICH DOESN'T MEET THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE. By systematically keeping people poor, capitalism prevents them from meeting their basic needs in a "legal" way, yet it then punishes them for meeting them "illegally" - the only way left open to them.

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Pigs. cont'd from p. 21

Weatherpeople write of a "yoga of alertness, a heightened awareness of activities and vibrations around us - almost a new set of eyes and ears." That seems to me very much to capture the spirit of the new security. We have too long been bound by old forms, intense verbal confrontations which tell us more about the emotional responses of people to strain than about certain people's connections to the Man.

We need to develop clear techniques of checking out background facts, and tailing people. We need to be comfortable with those techniques so that we use them efficiently. We should be realistic about energy allotment. We cannot do absolutely those checks on everyone; but when we have suspicions we must be able to check them out.

Many of the people who had boarded at Weatherford's house recalled him going off into his room and typing for hours. As we all talked, we discovered too, that he had disappeared for weekends (usually to the beach, ostensibly to "straighten out" his head) at fairly regular monthly intervals.

When we talked about his politics several of us spoke of being confused about how he integrated his objective, social scientist, school thinking (which included belief in people's natural competitiveness, avarice and aggressiveness) with his radical political commitment. One woman had accused him of being a spy for the Young Americans for Freedom, but she had never mentioned that to anyone else.

Weatherford had once admitted, while tripping with a man he loved, that he had to do a number of dope busts to "pay off" his own. The other man out of loyalty to Jack had never told anyone, and when Weatherford told him he was no longer obligated, the other man had believed him.

How might we have caught him? Probably only by tailing him to a weekend meeting or an evening report. But we would only have done that if we had had reason to distrust him, which would only have come through greater responsibility to each other and our common beliefs than to our friend.

My sense is that security ultimately depends on a different mindset about each other. That it is a measure of our responsibility care and concern for one another and ourselves that we be upfront about doubts and inconsistencies. We must develop ways of working through honest misunderstandings collectively. Routine background checks are undoubtedly useful; in Jack's case we might have become suspicious from his military or arrest record.



p. 25

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RPCC - cont. from P. 23

up in a way that most women would have agreed with, and that would have been a positive thing we could have done as women.

BARBARA: We failed to do that small thing because we were so busy arguing and getting mad at the Panthers and each other. And of course we totally failed to do the necessary work of forging a movement that would be able to negotiate with them from a position of strength so we could all get down to the business of fighting the real enemy.

SALLY: We all felt pretty down when we left the women's center to go over to the church to hear Huey's speech. He was still talking about "mankind"—"A man is less of a man if he can't pick up a gun to defend himself, or he's not a man at all"; "It's not a matter of Marxism, it's a matter of manhood." For him to be so insensitive is really bad, even when he does criticize himself and say well it's a bourgeois fuck-up of his.

BARBARA: It wasn't just Huey talking about mankind, it was the real male supremacy of that event at the church. All the guards were men. All the speakers were men—Huey, Michael Tabor and Robert Scheer. Robert Scheer went on a trip to North Korea on which there were a majority of women. So why was it Scheer who was picked to report on the trip? A lot of us would have been really interested in hearing from the women. Also it would have been good to hear Panther women speak.

SALLY: Another thing—we'd gotten the leaflet in the morning saying the constitution was going to be read. Now here was Huey talking about how we couldn't hold a constitutional convention in Amerika because we hadn't liberated the territory yet. How come the people didn't get to decide that? Why did they call the convention in the first place then?

KAREN: I thought that it was kind of weird for Huey to lay down this hour-long abstract rap to people who were waiting to be told what the fuck was going on. I don't feel like I want to comment right now on his theory of vast numbers of Lumpen making the revolution, or about intercommunalism. I think a lot of people have serious questions about these things. Particularly the "nations don't exist anymore" theory—I wouldn't like to lay that on the Vietnamese or the Palestinians who are waging wars of national liberation. But whether we agree with them or not, these ideas don't seem to relate to the immediate problems of the movement in Amerika. And he only briefly mentioned the Panther political prisoners, the fact that Bobby and Ericka might die.

SALLY: After Huey's speech I went back to the women's center, but not many women were there. Some women just came back and went to sleep, some of us talked. The discussion I was in centered around our discontent with Huey's speech and our experiences at this convention. None of us felt like we had gotten any unity or strength from the weekend.

Sunday morning was better; a few regional meetings which had been planned the day before were still held, and ideas and plans for the NLF anniversary on Dec. 20 were exchanged. Women from New England made plans for a January regional meeting to exchange ideas and plans for future projects. The meetings Sunday seemed to be the most positive and concrete things that happened the whole weekend, yet they had almost no connection to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention.

WOMEN ARRESTED—CONT FROM P. 9

directed mainly against themselves is a reflection of the self-hatred women are made to feel from earliest childhood. They are herded into the worst facilities, being less likely to "benefit" from attempts at rehabilitation, and are segregated from other delinquents to prevent contamination. The phenomenon of runaways is the outcome of the oppressive structure of the nuclear family: children are mistreated as parents take out the frustrations of this unworkable arrangement on their offspring. To regard runaways as criminals is to deny young people any chance for freedom and self-determination; it insures that anyone who attempts to break out of an oppressive institution will be slapped immediately into a more overtly repressive one.

Murder:

When a woman commits murder, the victim is almost always her husband (or lover) or her child. These murders are usually not premeditated, but explode out of the desperation that comes from monotonous, repetitive, physically and emotionally exhausting work. She finishes making the children's breakfast and dashes off to attend to the baby. She rushes back, serves the children, and makes her husband's breakfast. Then there are the dishes, the laundry, the cleaning, the shopping—and the constant drain of having total responsibility for the comfort of everyone in her family.

It is no accident that most murders committed by women take place in the home, most often in the course of a domestic quarrel in the kitchen. The woman kills her husband or lover, who in his role as

the pillar of the nuclear family is most responsible for her frustration, her suffocation, her total lack of contact with the outside world.

Women also kill their children. Sometimes out of "cruelty and neglect", a legal category which covers up the literal impossibility of raising a child where even the parents can't afford to live like human beings. Sometimes they kill the child outright, just after its birth, as their only alternative to the birth control methods or abortions that are not accessible to them. Some women who kill their children do so with the righteous feeling that the child has been saved from a life of poverty and misery. Others simply commit suicide afterwards.

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